

Nicholas Zharkikh

Essays on the history of Pobozhye
until the end of the 15th century

Kyiv – 2025

Notes for the readers

This document contain shortened english version of my work. It can be freely downloaded from my personal site, from HTML version of work, by URL www.M-Zharkikh.name/en/History/Monographs/HistPobozhjaPre1500.html

HTML version can be slightly modified and corrected.

There are large-scale images available in HTML version. This document contain only low-res images.

Shortened russian version (58 p.):

www.M-Zharkikh.name/ru/History/HistPobozhjaPre1500.html

Full ukrainian version (218 p.):

www.M-Zharkikh.name/uk/History/HistPobozhjaPre1500.html

This book had been written in Kyiv, May 19 – December 30, 2020; September 25, 2022 (**214th day of the great war against Russian aggression**) – November 13, 2022 (**263rd day of the war**); November 1, 2024 (**981st day of the war**) – December 21, 2024 (**1032nd day of the war**).

This version of document created January 8, 2025.

**Dedicated to the valiant
Ukrainian soldiers, behind whose
backs I have the opportunity to
continue my work**

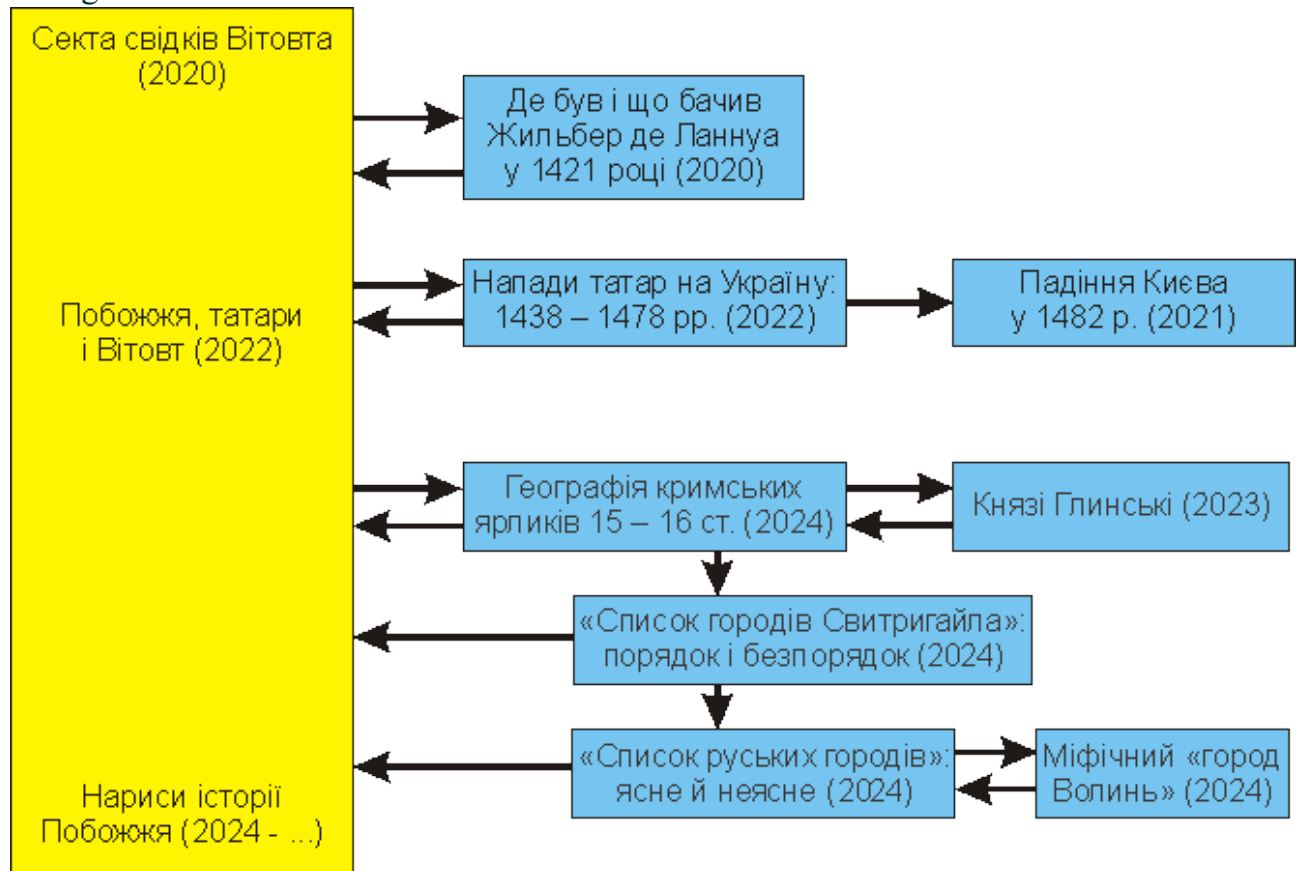
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How this work was written

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

My interest in this topic arose back in 2018. Then I read [article by O. Biletska](#) about "Vytautas'" toponyms and thought of writing a small review. But the matter turned out to be not so simple. It soon became clear: if we are going to touch on this topic, then we must conduct a siege according to all the rules of science: collect all sources on the topic, determine their source value, identify false news, manifestations of incompetence of sources, guesses of ancient authors (which are often, but completely mistakenly, considered personal observations).

As a result, the work that began under the title "Sect of Vytautas' Witnesses" began to diverge in different directions:



Here, arrows leading from the main work to the left indicate requests for research on related topics, and arrows in the opposite direction indicate the use of the results of this research in the main work.

Outside the window, I hear bursts of anti-aircraft artillery fire (well, I think it's artillery, not machine guns). The sounds are quite loud and dry, intermittent, meaning they're relatively close to me.

I thought it was a salute in honor of the completion of my work on the "List of Rus' Towns" on October 31, 2024, but it turned out to be different. [Wrote](#) that it was a Moscow attack (November 2, 2024 at 9:25).

And so I return to my Pobozye at a new level of knowledge of sources. I decided to abandon intriguing titles and give a neutral one: "Essays on the History of Pobozye". It is impossible to give any kind of coherent picture due to the lack of sources, and attempts in this direction will necessarily lead to a sea of General Considerations, among which factual information about the region will be rare islands. And the genre of essays allows me to bypass this sea of Emptiness and focus on islands about which I can say something concrete.

And what about Vytautas? What about his witnesses? What about the Tatars?

If only I will live -

I will swim and see a miracle...

Wrote additionally that the shooting I heard was indeed a "Shahed", the fragments of which fell in the Dniprovsky district of Kyiv (where I live). Cars were damaged.

So a reminder about "If I will live" is not superfluous at all (November 2, 2024 at 12:50).

Introduction

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

The subject of the work is source information about Pobozye, starting from the earliest. The main attention will be paid to geographical objects in this territory and their names, and even more narrowly – to objects on the southern border of settled Ukrainian colonization.

Based on the accumulated source information, I will try to draw conclusions regarding some controversial issues of the historical geography of the region, in particular, regarding "Vytautas" toponyms.

For centuries, the region was divided between the zones of influence of two, and sometimes even three super-ethnos – Orthodox, Catholic, and steppe (Islamic), which led to a variety of sources and (possible) contacts of different cultures.

In searching for the origins of the history of Pobozye and the Ochakiv Steppe, I will not delve into ancient times with their Tiras, Borysthenes, Hypanis, and Exampai. The ancient Greek geographical nomenclature left no trace in the living memory of the peoples who lived in this territory in the Middle Ages and in modern times.

All names like Olviopol, Tiraspol, Kherson, Roksolany are the result of the study of ancient geography by educated people of the late 18th century and later, that is, they are modern toponyms of book origin.

You should know that Pobozye in Ukrainian means "the lands along the river Bog." This river is often called the [Southern Bug](#), and the word *Bog* means *God*.

I will call the upper Pobozye the flow from the source of the Bog to Khmilnyk (the mouth of the Snivoda river); the middle Pobozye – the territory along the Bog from the mouth of the Snivoda to the mouth of the Savranka river; the lower Pobozye – the territory from the mouth of the Savranka to the Dnieper-Bog estuary. The Ochakiv steppe in this work denotes the steppe territory from the lower Dniester to the lower Bog. Another technical note: just at the time of writing this work, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted a new district division. But all references to districts in the work refer to the district division that was in effect in 1962 – 2020, only in parentheses will I indicate the district according to the modern division if its name is different, for example: Bershad (Haisyn) district.

Ilya Andreyev, Bohdan Berezenko, Dmytro Vortman, Pylyp Gavrylenko, Oleksandr Galenko, Tetyana Gedz, Tetyana Kuzyk, Vitaliy Mykhaylovsky, Vasyl Starko, Viktor Talakh, Maria Shvedova, and Mykhailo Yakubovych provided me with great help while writing this work. I express my sincere gratitude to all of them.

Pobozhye at 12 – 1 half 15th century

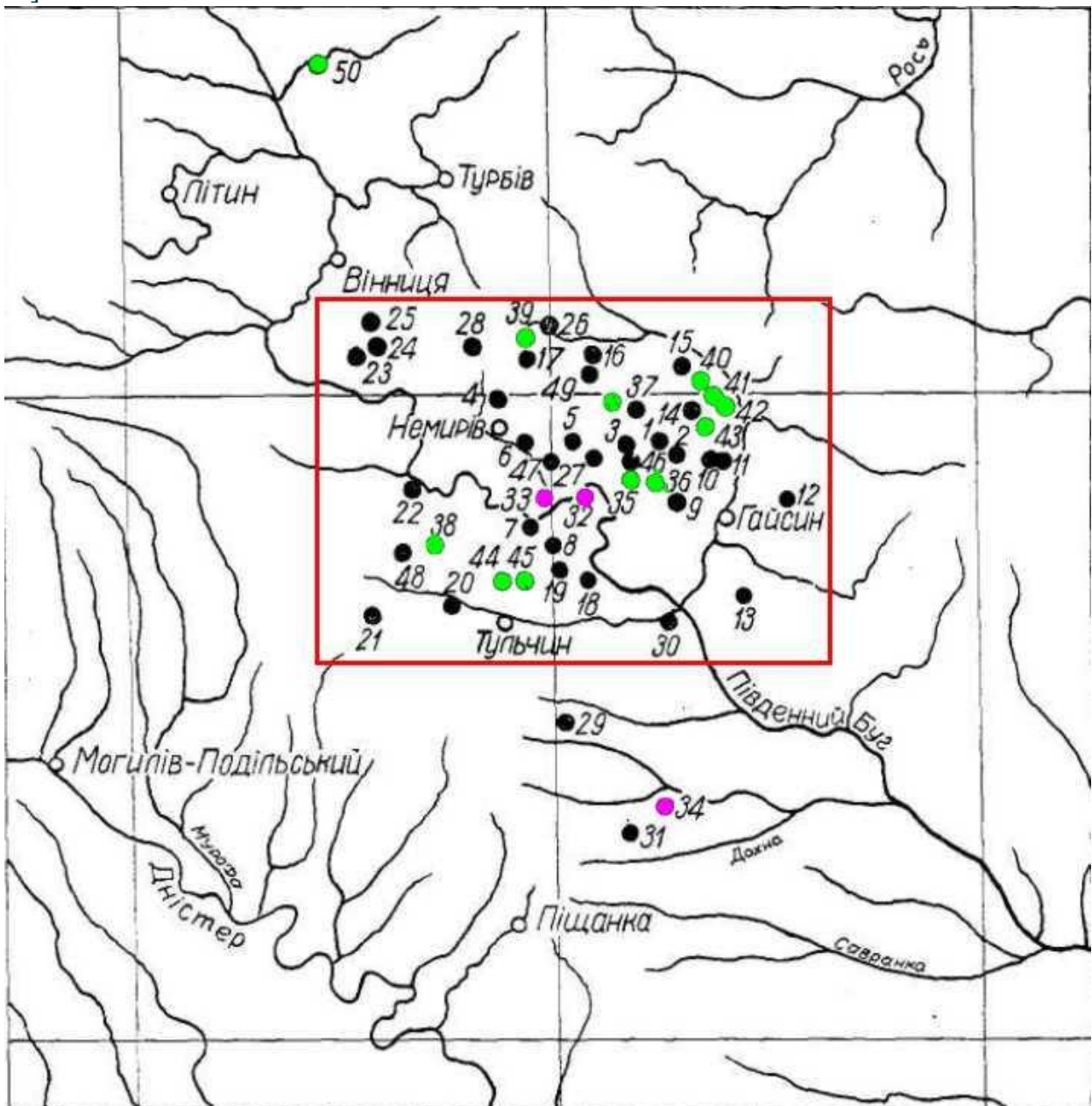
The era of Kyivan Rus' (12th – 13th centuries)

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Ancient Rus' chronicles

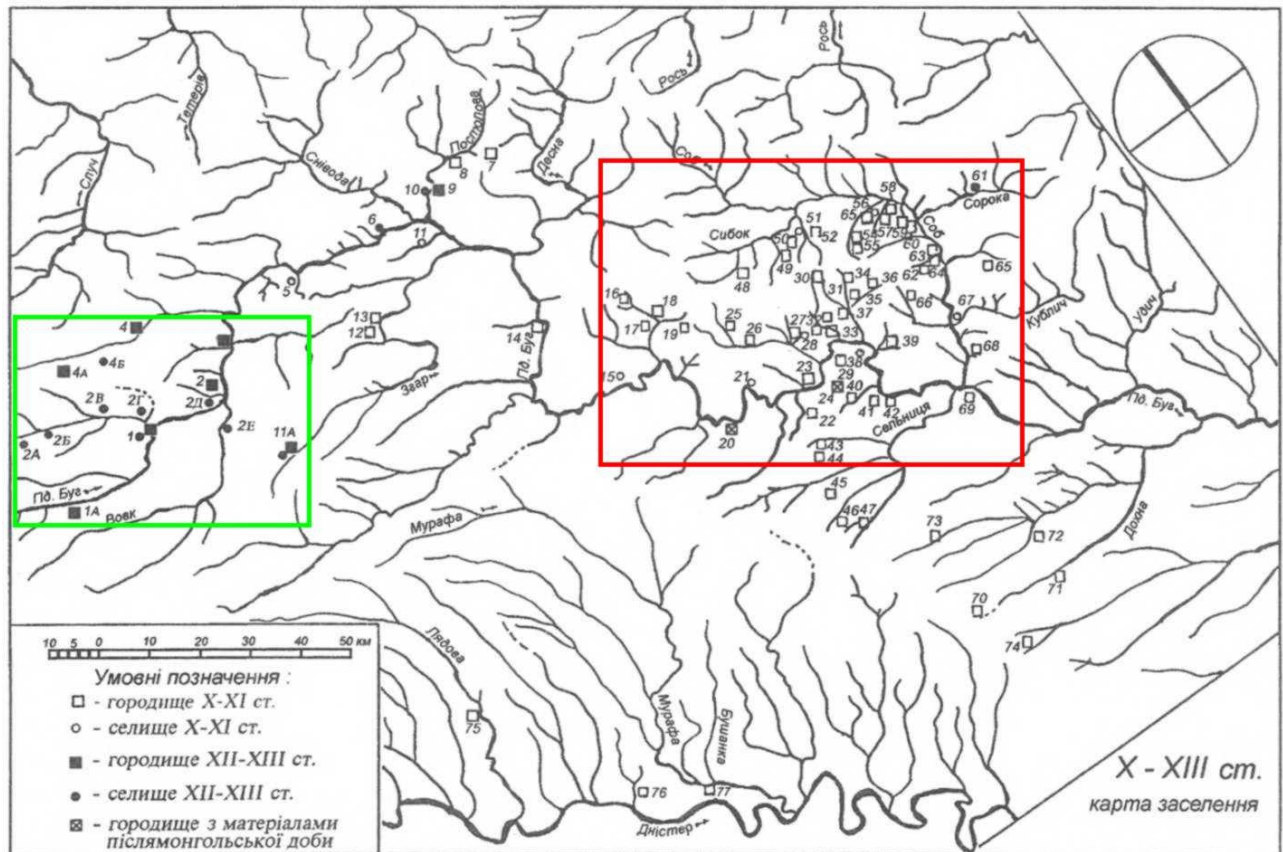
Archaeology of the Middle Pobozhye

A certain mystery for our topic is a group of hillforts in the territory of modern Vinnytsia region, surveyed by P. I. Khavlyuk. [Khavlyuk P. I. Ancient Rus' settlements on the Southern Bug. – «[Slavic-Ruthenian antiquities](#)», K., Naukova Dumka, 1969, pp. 156 – 174].



Map of ancient settlements in Vinnytsia region
[Khavlyuk P. I. op. cit., p. 158]

A major step in studying the history of settlement of the middle Pobozhye region was made by Andriy Tomashevsky. [Tomashevsky A. An outline of the history and ecology of the settlement of Eastern Podillja in the Slavic-Rus' era. – Archaeological Studies (Chernivtsi), 2003, [issue 2](#), pp. 132 – 159; appendices (tables) are provided separately: Tomashevsky A. Informational basis for research into the history and ecology of settlement of Eastern Podillja during the Slavic-Rus' era. – Archaeological Studies (Chernivtsi), 2008, [issue 3](#), pp. 169 – 179].



Map of objects on Pobozhye [Tomashevsky A. 2003, p. 136]

In short, studying the archaeology of these settlements can provide new data on the history of the region, in particular, to clarify the region's relations with Kyivan Rus', but so far we have more questions than answers.

Al-Idrisi Map

Conclusion: in ancient Rus' times, the Boh and Pobozhye rivers played no role and were very little known.

The Golden Horde era (mid-13th – 14th centuries)

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

At this time, Pobozhye was remote from the centers where historical sources were written, and was not the subject of military and political conflicts, and accordingly, the authors of European chronicles did not have the opportunity to mention it.

"Proslavija" 1352

Mention of Medzhybizh around 1366

Portolans

Minor archaeological traces

[September 26, 2022](#) reported: Lieutenant Colonel Valeriy Matviychuk died while performing a combat mission in the East.

[September 27, 2022](#) reported: defender from Kryvyi Rih Yuriy Bulyga died in the Kharkiv region.

[September 28, 2022](#) reported that Volyn resident Oleksandr Novosad died in the war with Russia.

And this is only a small part of the price our soldiers pay for Ukraine to continue to live, and I could continue my work in Kyiv in the usual comfort (September 28, 2022 at 12:30).

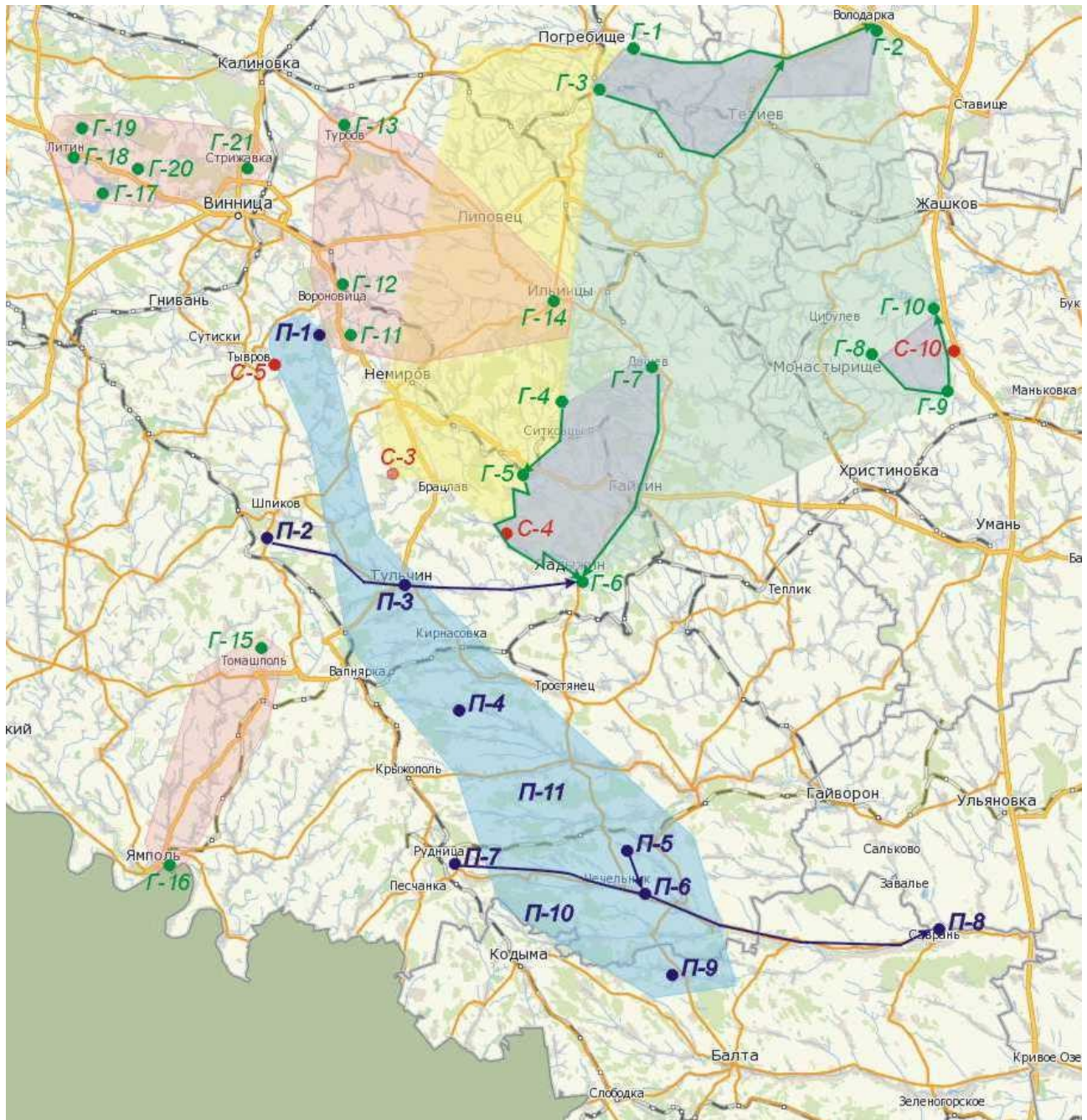
So, written sources from the Golden Horde period tell us nothing about Pobozyhe.

The era of the Koriatovychs (1374 – 1394)

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

The situation with sources for Pobozyhe, in particular historical and geographical sources, radically improved with the beginning of the reign of the Koriatovych princes in Podillja. It is not that these sources became abundant, but compared to the complete zero in the previous period, the number we have represents a big change.

Charter of 1391



Map of the grants of Prince Fedor Koriatovych on a topographical basis Meta.ua

Charter of 1392

General considerations

[September 29, 2022](#) reported: in the city of Dnipro (Sicheslav) an entire family – parents and two children – was killed by a missile strike by Russians. Only a faithful dog is waiting in the ruins for the return of its owners...

[September 30, 2022](#) reported: 30 people died in the city of Zaporizhzhia from rocket fire by Russians.

[October 1, 2022](#) reported: the 81st Airmobile Brigade of the

Armed Forces of Ukraine liberated the town of Drobyshve in the Donetsk region (it is 8 km from Lyman, surrounded by our troops).

And thanks to the valor of our troops, I am able to continue my work (October 1, 2022 at 9:30 a.m.).

The mythical "Kalnytsky possession"

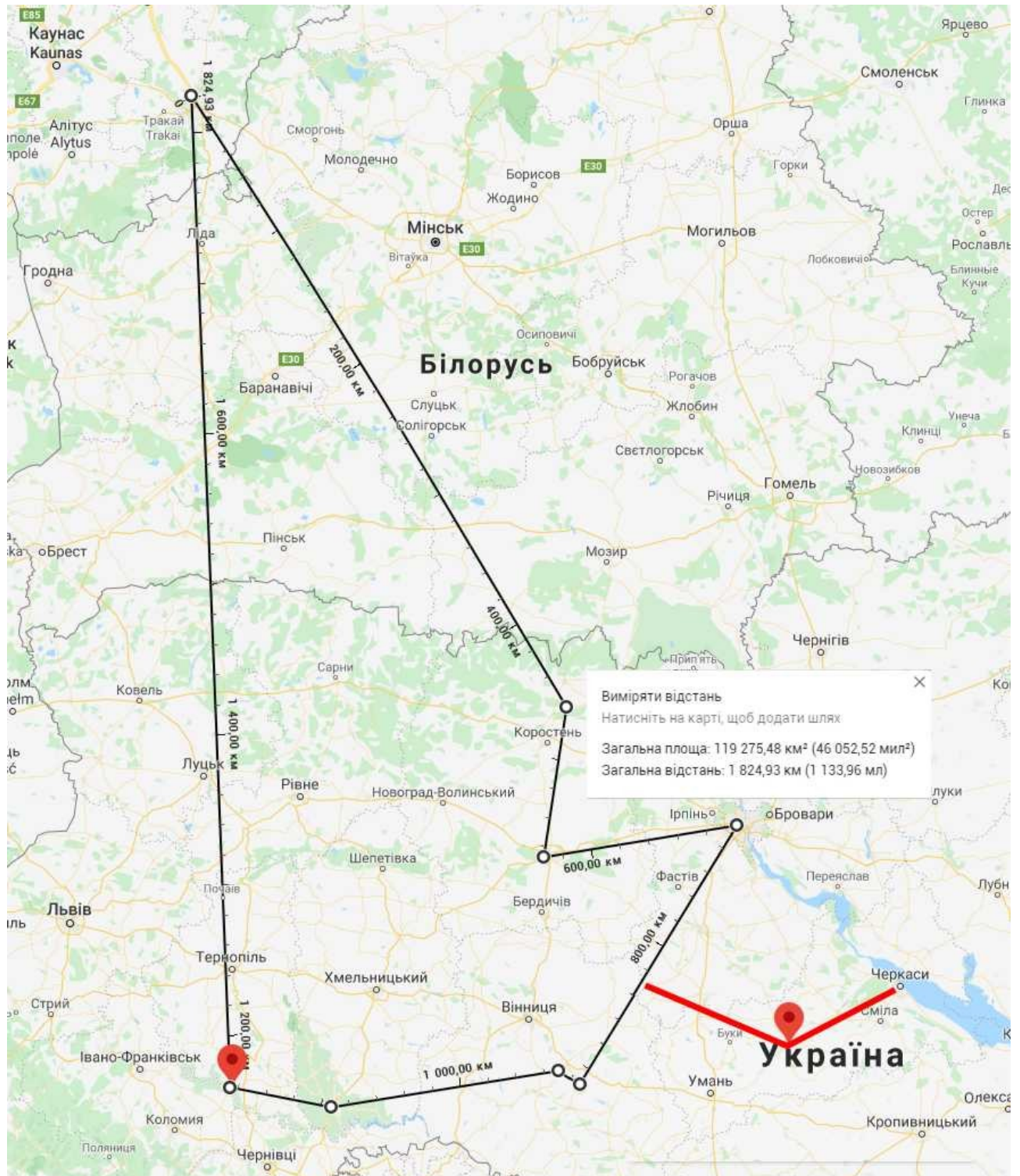
On September 30, 2022, the Rotten Straw Horde declared the annexation of the occupied part of the territory of Ukraine, and already on October 2, 2022, Ukrainian troops liberated Lyman in the "newly Russian" Donetsk region, and there are reports that various countries are imposing new sanctions on the Horde – for the annexation.

This is how these Russians lived – they lost the annexed territories, and the sanctions for their annexation will be in effect until the end of the Horde's existence. (October 2, 2022 at 9:15)

Podillja campaign of 1394

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

I think there was only one Podillja campaign. There is probably no doubt that the assembly point for the troops was Vilna.



Map of the 1394 campaign based on Google maps

For our narrow topic – the geography of middle Pobozye – the analyzed chronicle fragment does not add any new settlements, because we already knew about the existence of Bratslav and Sokilets from the previous section.

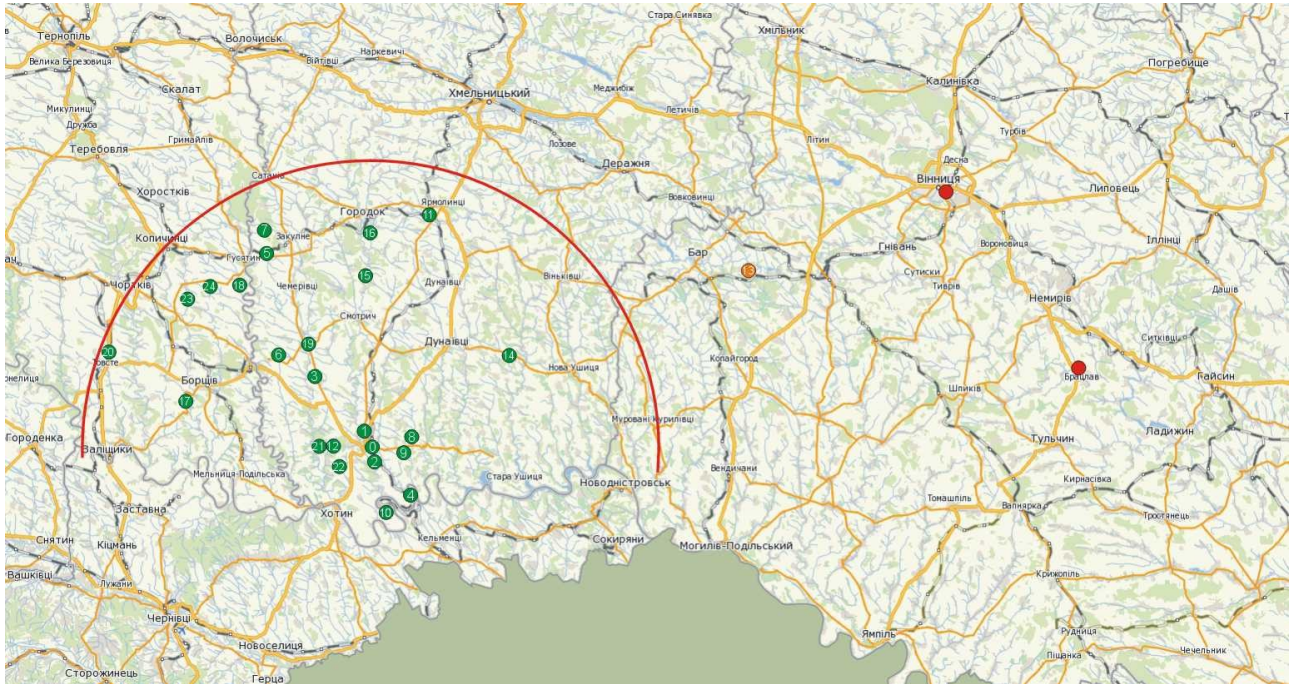
The era of Jagiello (1395 – 1413)

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Grant of the Spytko of Melsztyn in 1395.

Švitrigaila's charter for Kozlov

Granting of Jagiello to Podillja

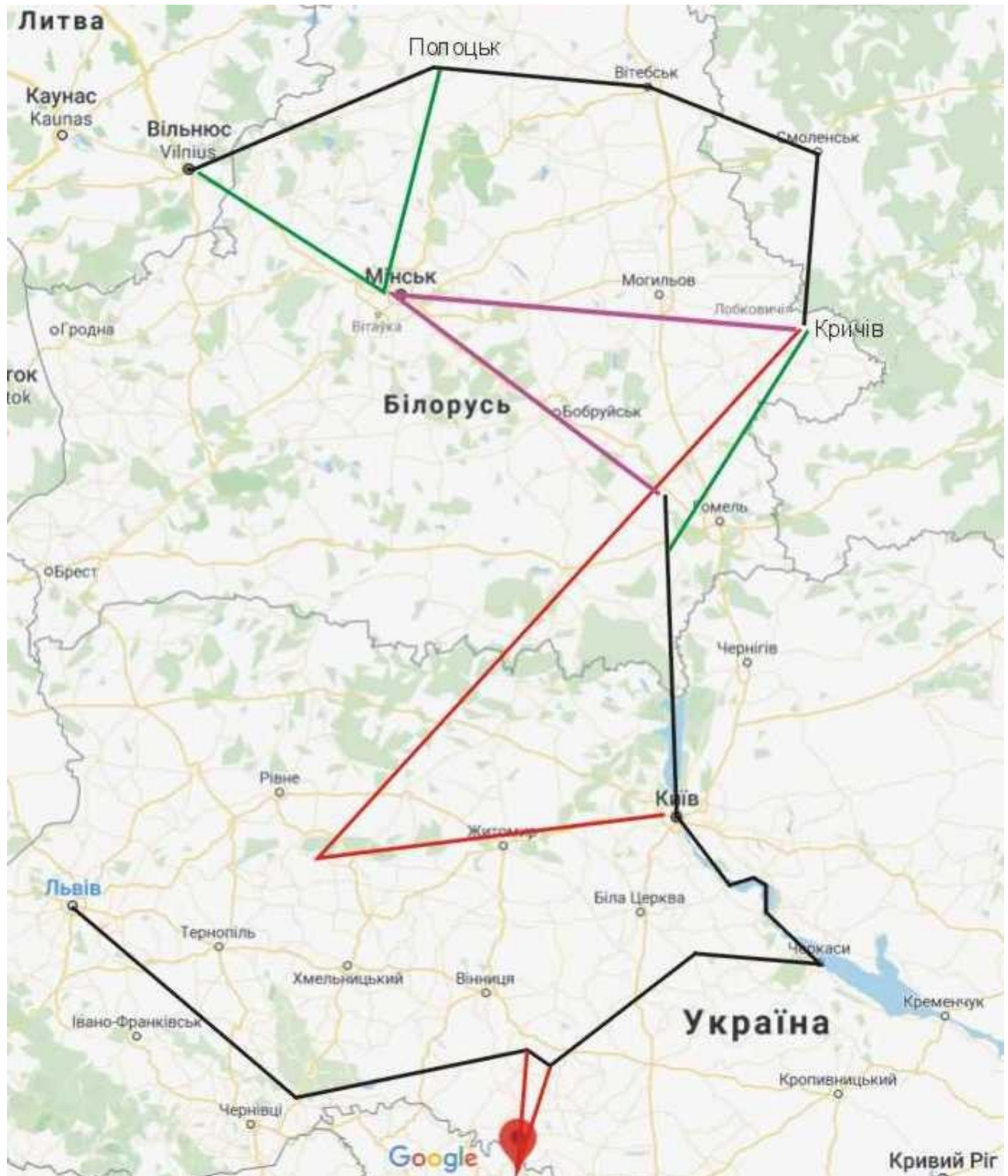


*Map of Jagiello's grants in Podillja
based on maps.meta.ua topography*

The red arc with a radius of 65 km, centered in Kamianets (marked 0 on the map), covers almost all the settlements. They are located no further than two days' journey from the center of the region.

Jagiello's journey in 1411

Jan Długosz (1415 – 1480) wrote about this trip in the 11th book of his chronicle. In the description of the route, we have two geographical puzzles at once.



*Map of Jagiello's journey in 1411
based on Google maps topography*

In the south, in the middle Pobozye, the king visited the already known Sokilets and Bratslav. A new object is Karavul.

The era of Vytautas (1418 – 1430)

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Granting Vytautas in Podillja

Zosima's journey in 1419

On the Pobozhye Zosima noted only the already known Bratslav, and his form was recorded on site and relatively early. Therefore, it is important for analyzing the origin of the name.

Vytautas' journey in 1424

Vytautas' journey in 1427

Today at around 5:50 I heard anti-aircraft artillery fire. [Wrote](#), that the fragments of the downed "Shaheds" fell in 6 districts of Kyiv, in Pechersk they caused a fire in a high-rise building (33rd, 34th floors). And [was shot down](#) over 30 "Shaheds", the air raid lasted for more than 8 hours.

And how is the newly elected US President Donald F. Trump going to pick up those pieces? (November 7, 2024 at 8:30 a.m.).

It is important to me that Vytautas' visit to Bratslav in 1394 was the first and last time in his life when he undoubtedly visited the middle Pobozhye. Why is it important? – Well, there must be some intrigue in the work...

The second important conclusion is that Vytautas did not found any new cities or castles – neither in Podillja, nor in the territory of all of modern Ukraine, nor anywhere else.

Pobozhye in 1430 – 1447

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Kamianets-Podilsky Revolution of 1430

Grand Duke Vytautas of Lithuania died in Trakai on October 27, 1430, and this became the signal for a new revolution in Podillja.

Grants of the 1430s-40s in Podillja

Jagiello well understood the weakness of the Poles in Podillja, and this led to a whole blizzard of grants.

The Lutsk Truce of 1431

Inspired by the ease with which the annexation of ~~Crimea~~ Kamianets-Podilsky was carried out, the Poles wanted to capture Volhynia and began the siege of Lutsk. When this siege failed, it was decided to conclude ~~Minsk agreements~~ Lutsk truce.

Polish-Lithuanian War for Podillja

As often happens, people dissatisfied with the revolution wage war against the revolutionaries.

List of Švitrigaila's towns in 1432

Mention of Karavul in 1447

From all the sources considered, it can be concluded that the last settlement in the south of Pobozyhe was Bratslav. The group of steppe sites that appear in these documents never belonged to either Lithuania or Poland.

Affidavit Prince Fedko of Nesvizh (1434)

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

We have already seen this prince as the main supporter of Švitrigaila in the fight against the Poles in Podillja.

And so in the preamble of the charter we read that Švitrigaila suspected Fedko of treason and imprisoned him together with his wife and children and even intended to execute him. We further read that the Polish lords Vincentii Shamotulski and Mykhailo Buczacki liberated Fedko and his family by armed force and on this occasion Fedko swore allegiance to the Polish king Władysław (3rd, son of Jagiello-Władysław II; the latter died on June 1, 1434).

The only direct evidence from the charter are: 1, that Fedko was the starosta (headman) of Kremenets and Bratslav districts before his arrest and continued to hold that title (but not to be!) after the "liberation"; 2, that he could use his influence among the local people to sway them to the side of Poland.

There is no mention of the king confirming Fedko's possession. There is also no mention of Fedko after the charter of 1435.

"Bratslav headman" Derslaw Wlostowski (1436)

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Old-new US President Donald Trump calls: "Make America great **again**".

And I can't understand: when did America stop being great? What are the visible signs that it is no longer great? What are the reasons that it has stopped being great? Is there anyone's personal or group guilt in this?

Meanwhile, frank and truthful answers (if anyone knows them) should become a diagnosis of the disease (if it is a disease) and the basis for plans in the style of "catch up and overtake" (the one who is great at the moment) (November 14, 2024 at 7:51).

Mr. Derslaw Wlostowski was really called the Podillja starosta (headman) and was really stayed in Podillja [*Mykhailovsky V. [Elastic community](#). Podillja nobility in the second half of the 14th – 70s of the 16th century. – K., 2012, by name index; his biogram: PNV, pp. 601 – 602]. Mykhailovsky dates his tenure as starosta to 1435-1437, Polekhov to 1431-1439 (?).*

We are interested in him because of the mention in J. Dlugosz of his "government" in Bratslav.

Ultimately, I imagine this case as follows. After the burning of Bratslav in 1432 and the subsequent end of the armed clashes for Podillja, Prince Fedko Nesvitsky left Bratslav to his fate and moved to Kremenets, where Švitrigaila had imprisoned him, and the Poles had released him ([Fedko's affidavit](#) in favor of King Vladislav III dated September 7, 1434). Stefan of Moldavia, having learned that all power in Pobozye had finally disappeared, **wrote** to the new king that he had captured Bratslav and was ready to hand it over to the Poles. The royal government, having received this information, **ordered** Podillja starosta Derslaw Wlostowski to take over power over Bratslav.

Derslaw, having received the order, decided not to stir up trouble while it was quiet, and did not begin to violate the established de facto border along Murafa (apparently, he did not have the strength for such an expedition).

Titular Podillja headman Monyvdyd (1437 – 1438)

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

And I have bad news for those who want to make America (or any other country) great again.

I know of only one relatively reliable way to achieve this: one must win a world war. Not a local war against Grenada or Kuwait, but a world war.

Of course, it is not worth starting a world war yourself just to catch up and overtake someone there, but if such a war is already underway (as in our case), then one must not close his eyes and try to appease the aggressor. One must clearly declare: we will defeat the aggressor and show the whole world that wars cannot be started without our permission.

Just don't tell Trump anything, please (November 15, 2024 at 8:11).

Modern Polish researcher Marian Wolski compiled a useful guide to the officials of Volhynia [[Urzednicy Wołyńscy](#) XV–XVIII wieku: spisy. – Kórnik: 2007. – 189 s.] There, in the section “Kremenets headmen” on p. 60 we read: “Ivashko Monyvdydovych, Starosta of Bratslav 1437 – 1438”.

Is that really true?

The assumption must be rejected and the original documents must be retained: just as Švitrigaila was the “Grand Duke of Lithuania,” so his Monyvdyd was the “Starosta of Podillja.” Both enjoyed the beautiful appearance of their titles in writing, but had no real power.

What kind of Monyvdyd was this and did it have any relation to the "real" [Albertas Manvydas](#), which was last mentioned in 1422 – I don't know, I don't intend to delve into this matter.

The mythical "Bratslav ruler" Prince Vasyl Sangushkovich (1443 – 1445)

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

The only information about this prince is provided by a document published in 1868 [Charters of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania from 1390 to 1569. / Antonovych V. B., Kozlovsky K. E. – K.: 1868, No. 4, pp. 6 – 9].

Today at dawn (around 6:28) I heard a relatively close explosion, and immediately afterwards a double explosion, all against a backdrop of more distant and indistinct explosions. [Wrote](#) (at 7:00), that the roof of a 5-story residential building in the Pechersk district caught fire from falling fragments of a cruise missile. So that Kyiv would not feel alone, the Russians directed missiles at Odesa, Dnipro (Sicheslav), Kryvyi Rih, Pavlohrad, and Mykolaiv.

And the second series – about 5 distinct, relatively close explosions – was heard around 7:15 (November 17, 2024 at 7:49).

The document mentions rivers [Zgar](#), [Rowets](#), [Vyshnja](#), which are easily found, many smaller rivers and micro-toponyms are also mentioned, the search for which could be the subject of a separate article.

I'm the only one who finds this document a bit strange, are there really some inconsistencies in it?

Of all the written records, only the 1714 oblation, entered by Tomasz Zaliwski, is beyond doubt. This gentleman came to the Letychiv court with an ancient document, entered it into the book, received an extract (by our standards – a notarized copy) and left.

Everything else, in my amateurish opinion, is a falsification, and a very inconvenient one at that.

As always after a big attack, I remind you of its results. [They write](#) about the attack of 120 missiles and 90 UAVs, about seven deaths, about [using](#) russian missiles of 8 types ("what's in the oven – swords are all on the table!"), about flights of [Russian bombers](#) Tu-160 (which is a great rarity!), about [destruction](#) 102 missiles and 42 UAVs.

The worst was in Odesa – [write](#) about the lack of light, heat and water.

And more [wrote](#) about Natalia Grabchuk, who before the war had the most peaceful of all possible professions (a kindergarten teacher), and now serves in a mobile air defense firing group and with her first combat shot – shot down a cruise missile from the old-regime Soviet Igla portable anti-aircraft missile system. Such are the girls in Ukraine now (November 18, 2024 at 8:06).

Did Vezhgailo the deacon exist? – Both yes and no.

The Vilnius tyvun Vazgailo is mentioned as a witness to a private deed issued in Vilnius on November 9, 1457. [Skarbiec diplomatów papieżskich, cesarskich, królewskich

do krytycznego wyjaśnienia dziejów Litwy, Rusi Litewskiej i ościennych im krajów. – Wilno: 1862, vol. 2, No. 1946, p. 206].

This is all true, but not one of the bearers of the name and then the surname Vezhgailo was a deacon, had no property interests in Volyn, and was not connected with Švitrigaila.

Yesterday (November 18, 2024) Russians hit Odesa with their bast shoes (which they call missiles) ([10 dead](#)) and Sumy ([12 dead](#)). In Odesa today – [day of mourning](#).

The response to the Munichists' calls to the main Kremlin ghoul is quite understandable (November 19, 2024 at 8:27).

Conclusion: "Švitrigaila's charter" is fake.

Yesterday (November 19, 2024) Russians [hit Glukhiv](#), 12 dead.

And tonight (around 5:40 – 5:45) I clearly heard the work of anti-aircraft artillery (it turns out it was the Shaheds again). [Wrote](#), that in the Dniprovsky district of Kyiv (where I live) UAV debris caused a fire in an apartment. Not in mine yet (November 20, 2024 at 8:35).

Grant to Theodoryk Buczacki in 1442

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Theodoryk Buczacki, well known in the history of Podillja, traveled as an ambassador from the Polish and Hungarian king Władysław III to the Tatar khan (unknown by name) in 1442 and in September returned to Buda (the capital of Hungary), where the king was at that time.

Buczacki's successes were rewarded with two grants, issued on September 29 and 30. The first of them granted Theodoryk the government of the Podillja general starosta (headman) and a huge territory, almost half of the voivodeship (among them we note Letychiv, Medzhybizh and Khmilnyk) [*Kurtyka J.* [Nadanie starostwa podolskiego](#) Teodorykowi z Buczacza z r. 1442 (from dziejów królewskiej na Podolu w XV and XVI wieku). – *Annales Academiae Paedagogicae Cracoviensis*, 2004, Folia 21, *Studia Historica* 3, p. 69 – 102]. This was only a plan of possession: some of the granted lands Theodoryk was to buy back from the owners to whom these lands had been granted earlier (and not all of them were bought back), and some had to be reconquered (as [Medzhybizh and Khmilnyk](#) in 1447).

The second grant from September 30, 1442 concerned the following objects:

[The king grants Theodoryk] castra nostra: Caravul, super Dniestr fluvio, Czarnigrad, ubi Dniestr fluvius dictus mare intrat, et Caczibieiw, in littore maris sita [...] Sed ut ipsa castra, civitates, oppida, villas, portus, thelonea [telonea] et pertinencias [pertinentis] eorum universas nobis et illis terris nostris Podoliae possit ducere in perfectum edificetque et melioret [...] [*Hrushevsky M. S.* Barskoe starostvo. – K.: 1893, note on p. 26; the text is printed from a copy contained in the book of privileges of 1564; new edition – *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*. – Wrocław: 1975, t. 8, No. 2429 – not available on the Internet, I could not use it].

This document was **plan** for the future, and in no way a fixation of the current state of ownership.

The war with the Turks did not go according to Vladislav's plan. In 1444, in the Battle of Varna, the Turks crushed his army, and the king himself died. This canceled all the Black Sea plans, including the granting to Buczacki.

However, this paper ownership continued to live its paper life and in 1564 it was included in the copy book of Podillja land ownership acts, from where we have its text.

Conclusions

1. In ancient Rus' times, the Bog river and Pobozye played no role and were very little known. The only reliably localized town – Medzhybizh – was located on the upper Bog.

2. During the Golden Horde supremacy, Pobozye was remote from the centers where historical sources were written, and was not the subject of military and political conflicts, therefore, the authors of European chronicles did not have the opportunity to mention it.

3. The mention of "Proslavija" in the chronicle of Matteo Villani (1352) cannot be linked to Bratslav on Bog.

4. On the Mediterranean compass maps (portolans) of the 14th century, the Bog River is not shown.

5. The charters of Prince Fedor Koriatovych from 1391 and 1392 paint a picture of the settlement of the middle Pobozye. On the left bank of the Bog, the southern border is the Sob River, on the right – the Savran River. Further colonization in the steppe zone stopped by the end of the 16th century.

6. Prince Vytautas' campaign to conquer the Kyiv region and Podillja can be roughly dated to October 1394 – January 1395. Vytautas captured key points in Pobozye, the southernmost of which were Bratslav and Sokilets.

7. The grants of Jagiello, and then Vytautas in Podillja are concentrated in its western part, primarily around Kamianets-Podilsky, and almost do not touch the middle Pobozye (Bratslav region).

8. Vytautas did not found any new town either in the Bratslav region or in the territory of modern Ukraine as a whole.

9. As a result of the war between Poland and Lithuania, which took place in the 1430s, a border was formed in Podillja along the Murafa River, and the middle Pobozye remained part of Lithuania.

10. The granting of the Black Sea tracts to Theodoryk Buczacki in 1442 was a plan for a future latifundia, where there was currently nothing, but it was planned to build castles, cities and towns. This grant was never implemented.

Controversial issues of historical geography 1st half of the 15th century

The mythical "Black Sea estate" of Vytautas

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

The facts collected above indicate that Vytautas occupied the middle Pobozhye with Bratslav in 1394 and later actually owned it. He never went south of Bratslav.

He also made three campaigns to the south in 1397, 1398 and 1399. [*Zharkikh M. I. [Push to south](#): three years of Vytautas' policy. – K.: 2017*]. The direction of the first two campaigns cannot be defined more specifically, the third was directed to the left bank of the Dnieper and ended with the defeat of Vytautas in the battle with the Tatars on the Vorskla.

After that, Vytautas made no attempts to expand his state to the south, limiting himself to helping various claimants to the Horde throne.

The idea that Vytautas owned the southern steppes all the way to the Black Sea coast is based on a misunderstanding of the "List of Švitrigaila's Towns".

My assumption is as follows: Emperor Sigismund and the Polish King Jagiello from time to time discussed plans to divide Moldavia, so that its southern part was to be annexed to Sigismund's Hungarian possessions, and its northern part was to be annexed to Jagiello's possessions.

Was Vytautas promised anything as the future Lithuanian king? It can be assumed that he was promised Transnistria and the lands east of the Dniester, which were adjacent to his Podillja possessions.

Kachybejiv

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Kachybejiv, as we can see, is the only name present in all variants of the list of "Vytautas' Black Sea estate." In early texts, this name is written with the initial K, in later ones with the initial C (the spelling of Karavul also varies in the same way).

And what does this name mean? Researchers who have addressed this issue have derived it from the name of the Tatar prince Hadji-Bey.

The ancient name has survived to this day in a slightly modified form as *Hadzhibejsky estuary* near Odesa.

The question is not where to place this name, but what it meant.

First of all, it should be noted that European nautical charts (portolans) do not know the name *Kachibei*. Between the Dnieper and the Dniester, they have up to a dozen different names, but there is not a single one among them that could be attributed to Kachybejiv.

Therefore, we can assume that Kachybejiv at the time in question and long afterwards was just a tract without any special significance.

Black town and White town

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Chorny Gorod (Black town), as we saw from the grant of 1442, was located at the confluence of the Dniester into the sea. The only notable medieval settlement known here was the Golden Horde – Moldavian – Turkish city, modern Bilgorod-Dnistrovsky. The Slavic name "Chorny Gorod" is the equivalent of the Latin / Italian name Mauro castro, known from portolans since the 14th century. The direction of translation here is unclear, perhaps both names are independent translations from some third language.

The only thing that stands against the identity of the Black town and modern Belgorod-Dniester is that *white* – then not *black* (and *black* – then not *white*).

It should be noted that historical sources know either the Black town or the White town, and do not know both of them (at the same time and next to each other).

But there is a source that records the names Black town and White town as synonyms for the same object. These are travel notes of a Flemish knight-diplomat. [Guillebert de Lannoy](#) (1386 – 1462), who in 1421 made a trip to Poland, Moldavia, Crimea and Constantinople. He is an infrequent guest in our history who personally visited Belgorod and wrote down its name: *Mancastre or Bellegard* [[Œuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy](#): voyageur, diplomate et moraliste. – Louvain: 1878, p. 59].

But how could one city be both Black and White at the same time? I think it's the names **individual parts** of one city, contrasted according to the principle of upper / lower, northern / southern, coastal / plain, or by the predominance of the population of a certain nationality.

Mayak

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

The next object on the list of "Vytautas' Black Sea possessions" is the Mayak (Lighthouse), recorded in two versions of the document.

Since it is a little-known name, we must consider all possible options and only then choose the best one.

Etymology

Origin of the word *mayak* remains unclear, but given the range of geographical names, it can be assumed that it originated in steppe Ukraine.

Geographical names *Mayak*, *Mayaky* (plural), *Mayachka*

Mayaky on the lower Dniester

Description by Evliya Çelebi (1650s)

Description of F. de Wollant (1792)

This is what the beginnings of the modern village of Mayaky look like (based on those sources that lie on the surface, without delving into the subject).

Archaeological data

Conclusions

1. The Word *mayak* – of unclear origin, first recorded on the territory of modern Ukraine in 1431. Its original meaning – a landmark, a sign – has been preserved to this day in construction terminology *mayak* "a mark on the wall of a building."

2. All 4 geographical names with the base *Mayak*, known until the end of the 17th century, are located in the steppe zone of Ukraine, three of them on the banks of large rivers.

3. From the mid-17th century, the word spread further east, into the steppe zone of the European part of Russia, and a new meaning was recorded – a structure for fire alarms.

4. From the end of the 18th century the word acquires its modern meaning – a tower for light signaling at sea.

5. From all the collected material, it can be assumed that the toponym *Mayak* on the lower Dniester could indicate a landmark visible from afar (perhaps the remains of some ancient tower of the Nadlymanske settlement) and was a sign for those traveling from the east that crossing the Dniester could be done to the right, to the north (the estuary began to the left).

6. The name *Mayak* on the lower Dniester has been known since the mid-16th century, and it can be assumed that the mentions of this name in 1431-1432 also refer to this territory.

7. It is indisputable that there was no city, castle, or settlement here at that time and for a long time afterwards (until the end of the 18th century), but only a tract / crossing.

8. The modern village of *Mayaky*, Biljaivka (Odesa) district, Odesa region, arose between 1792 and 1799.

Modern *Mayak* studies

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Karavul

The next object in the list of "Vytautas' Black Sea possessions" is *Karavul* (***Karawull***, the guard), recorded in three versions of the document.

Etymology

Placename *Karavul*

Name *Karavul* in the 1st half of the 15th century

It turns out that geographical objects with the name *Karavul* not so rare in Ukraine.

Revision of Bratslav Castle in 1545

Documents of Grygorij Chechel 1580 – 1581

After 1581, the name *Karaul* was completely forgotten, and we have no mention of it from the 17th to the 20th centuries.

Conclusions

1. Geographical name *Karavul* comes from a Turkic appellation *karaul* "guard post." This name was common in territories with a Turkic population, in particular, in Crimea.
2. Mentions of this name on the territory of Ukraine (with the exception of Crimea) date back to the first half of the 15th century and are relatively frequent (in terms of the number of sources of that time).
3. The mentions of Karaul from 1411 and 1447 should be attributed to the some point to the middle Pobozyhe region, which cannot be located more definitely.
4. Mentions of Karaul from 1442, 1545 and 1580 – 1581 should be attributed to a currently unknown tract on the Dniester in the area of modern Rashkov.
5. Early references to Karaul do not contain any definition of what this name means. In 1545 and 1580-1581 it was stated that it was a *selysche* (destroyed village). In no case is it a castle or any fortification, or a permanent settlement.
6. The mentions of 1580-1581 about the "privilege of Vytautas" on Karavul should be considered late fantasies, like all other mentions of privileges that allegedly burned down in Vinnytsya Castle in 1580.

Karavul studies at the modern stage

Now that I have independently analyzed the source evidence, I can evaluate what other authors have written on this topic.

Olga Biletska, examining the mentions of "Vytautas' charters" in the collection "Documents of the Bratslav Voivodeship", did not express any reservations about their reliability and apparently considers them real. [*Biletska O. [Grants by the Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas](#) in eastern Podillja. – "Ukraine and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 14th – 18th centuries: political, economic, interethnic and socio-cultural relations in a pan-European dimension", Kamianets-Podilsky, 2017, pp. 14 – 15].*

In the next big article [*Biletska O. Karaul in historical sources of the 15th–16th centuries – Ukraina Lithuanica, 2019, vol. 5, pp. 28 – 52*] she also gives full credence to these "charters," and in particular to the "charter" on Karavul.

September 17, 2022 was published [tell](#) about Vitaliy Andreyev, a professor of history at the B. D. Grinchenko University of Kyiv, who, together with his son Bohdan, defended Kyiv from Russians in the ranks of the territorial defense.

October 6, 2022 passed [message](#) – in the battles in the Donetsk direction, the "cyborg", historian Vyacheslav Zaitsev was killed.

Also, among my personal acquaintances – historians, several people are currently fighting in the Armed Forces of Ukraine. I will not mention their names – until they themselves remind us of themselves in the public space.

So, our historians fight not only with their minds and pens, but also with firearms (October 17, 2022 at 11:24).

The following article on Karavul was published in 2021 [*Lytvynchuk I., Rybchinsky O. Little-known Lithuanian castle Karavul on the Dniester. – [Scientific Bulletin](#)*

["Mezhybizh"](#) 1-2'2021. Materials of Archaeological Readings in the State Historical and Cultural Reserve "Mezhybizh" 2016-2020, pp. 145 – 152].

Overall, the article by the Lviv authors is a fairly decent piece of junk, almost like O. V. Biletska's. A superficial (in every sense) field survey of the settlement did not yield anything significant for understanding its historical role.

I was just about to turn on my computer (at 7:30 on November 13, 2024) when I heard two distant explosions. They [wrote](#), that it was a combined attack – “Shaheds”, then cruise and ballistic missiles, then “Shaheds” again. There are no news about damage yet (November 13, 2024 at 10:35).

The most recent publication on Karavul was written by Vladislav Gulevich [*Gulevich V. P. [About the origin and purpose of Karaul Castle](#). – Ancient Black Sea Region (Odesa), 2023, issue 14, pp. 390 – 396].*

For me, the article is interesting because many of the assumptions I formulated above are also expressed in this article. If they can be the subject of priority, then I will willingly give it up to V. Gulevich, and I will ing in a second voice (in this case – provide confirmation with my independent analysis).

I believe that the assumption about Karaul as a crossing + customs house + fortification for their protection is not sufficiently substantiated in the article.

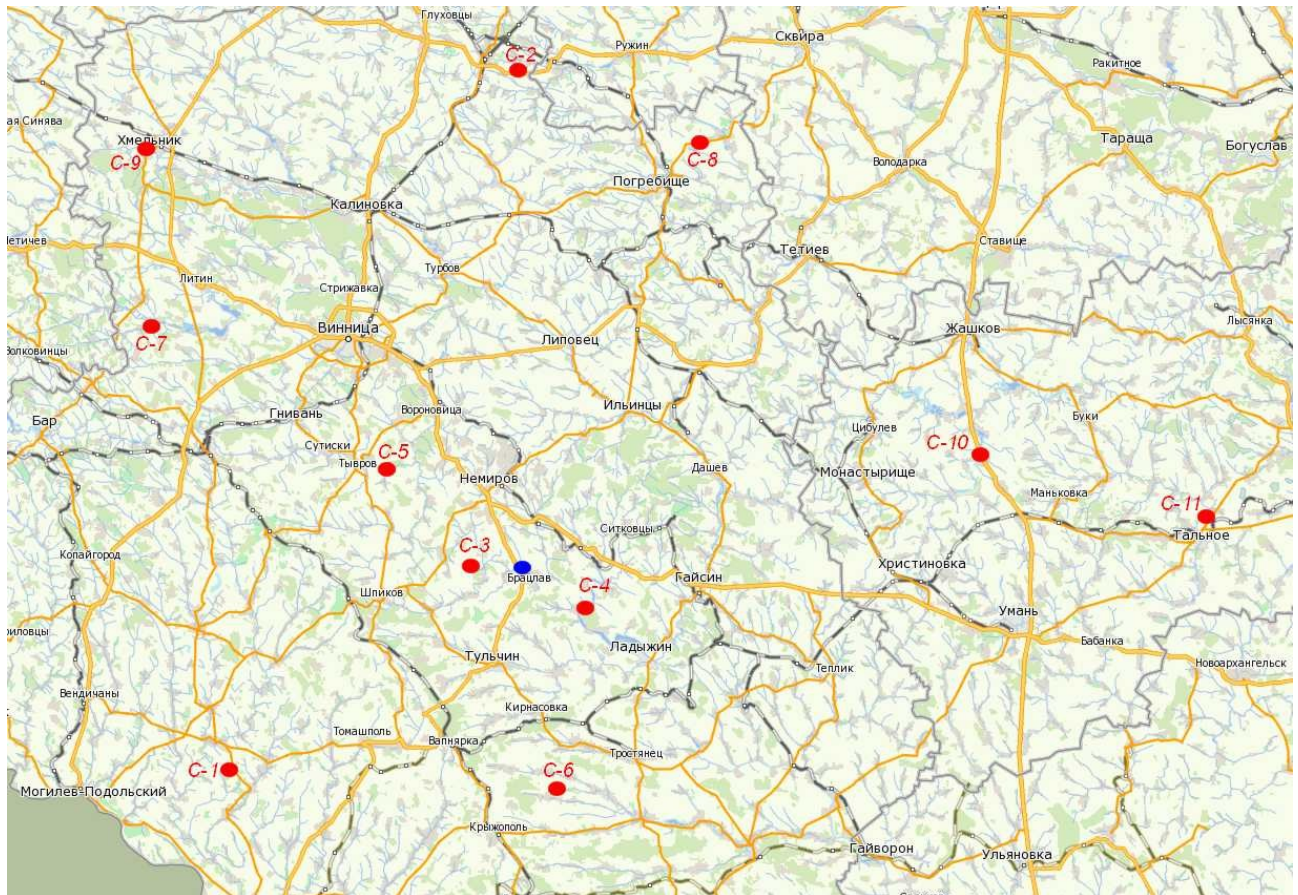
And it was still a pity from the morning russian attack: [damaged](#) filming pavilion of the MasterChief project (November 13, 2024 at 9:10 p.m.).

Sokilets

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Sokilets appears in all sources in conjunction with Bratslav, so this object should be sought somewhere near Bratslav.

Toponyms with a root *Sokil* (falcon) in Vinnytsia region

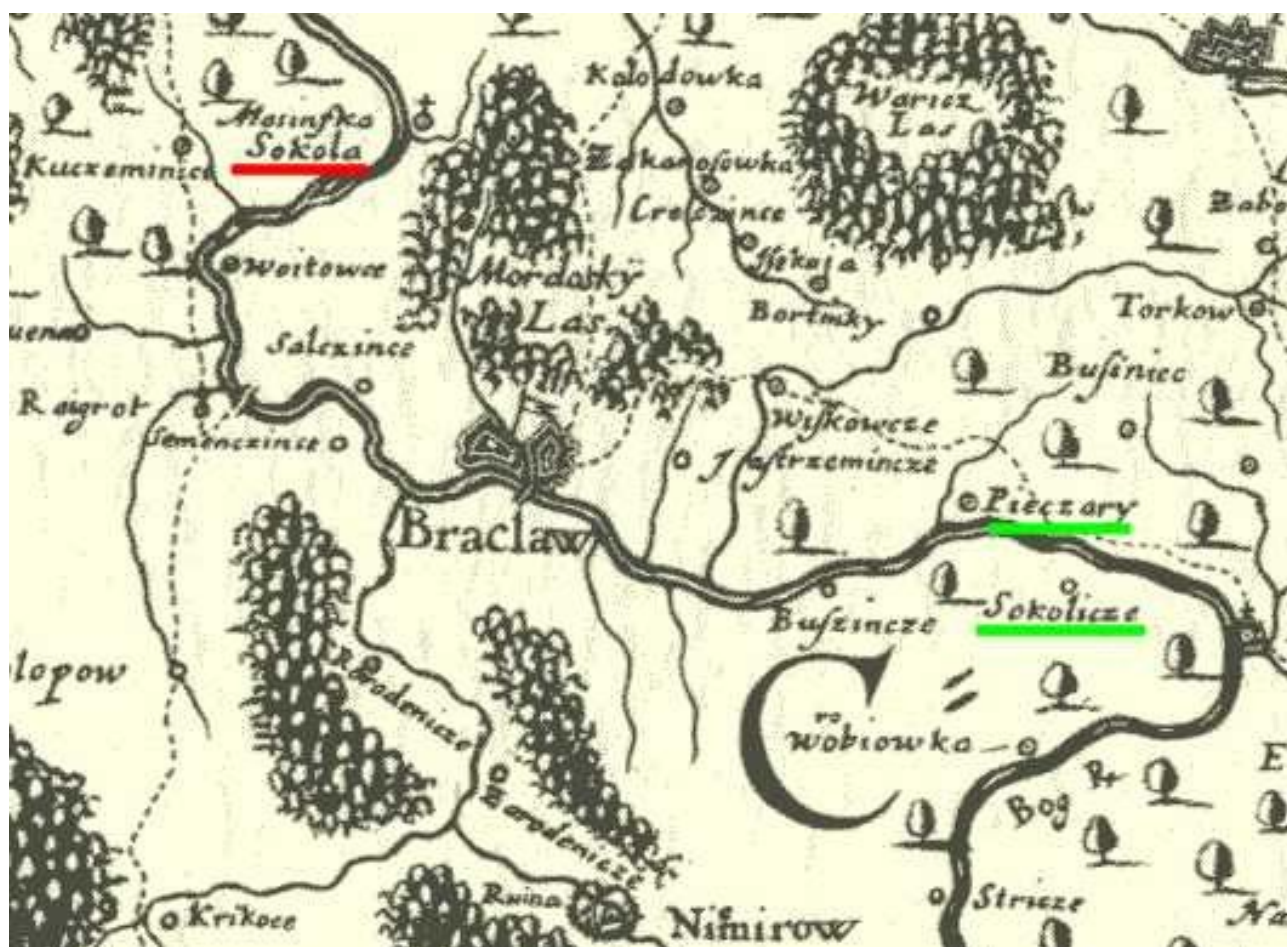


Map scheme of toponyms Sokil- on a topographical basis Meta.ua

Looking at the map, you can see that toponyms surround Bratslav on all sides; three of them are located on the Boh; they can be divided into three groups:

- 1, at a distance of up to one day's journey from Bratslav (C-3, C-4);
- 2, at a distance of up to two days' journey from Bratslav (C-5, C-6);
- 3, at a distance of three or more days' journey from Bratslav (the rest);

Source information about Sokilets



The surroundings of Bratslav on the map of G. Beauplan, 1650.

Specialists identify 4 variants of G. Beauplan's special map of Ukraine **1650** [Vavrychyn M. To the history of the creation of maps of Ukraine by G. Beauplan. – "Beauplan and Ukraine", Lviv, 1998, pp. 102, 110]. Our fragment is cut from the 4th version. It marks Pechera (cave) and Sokilets C-3 (*Sokolicze*), slightly shifted from the correct place (highlighted in green), as well as Sokilets C-4 (*Sokola*), underlined in red. There is no indication of the settlement here, but the island on the Boh is indicated. (Recall that north on the map is at the bottom, south is at the top).



The surroundings of Bratslav on the map of J. Rizzi Zannoni, 1772.

Maps of Ukraine of the 2nd half of the 17th and 18th centuries are imitations and alterations of maps by G. Beauplan; they do not contain independent information. New cartographic data were provided by Giovanni Rizzi Zannoni on his large map of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of 1772. However, on the given fragment of it [19th sheet](#) we see a repetition of Beauplan's data: Pechera and Sokilets C-3 (*Sokolicze*), underlined in green, as well as Sokilets C-4 (*Sokola*), underlined in red. The difference is that C-4 is shown as a ring with a cross, located on an island.

Archeology

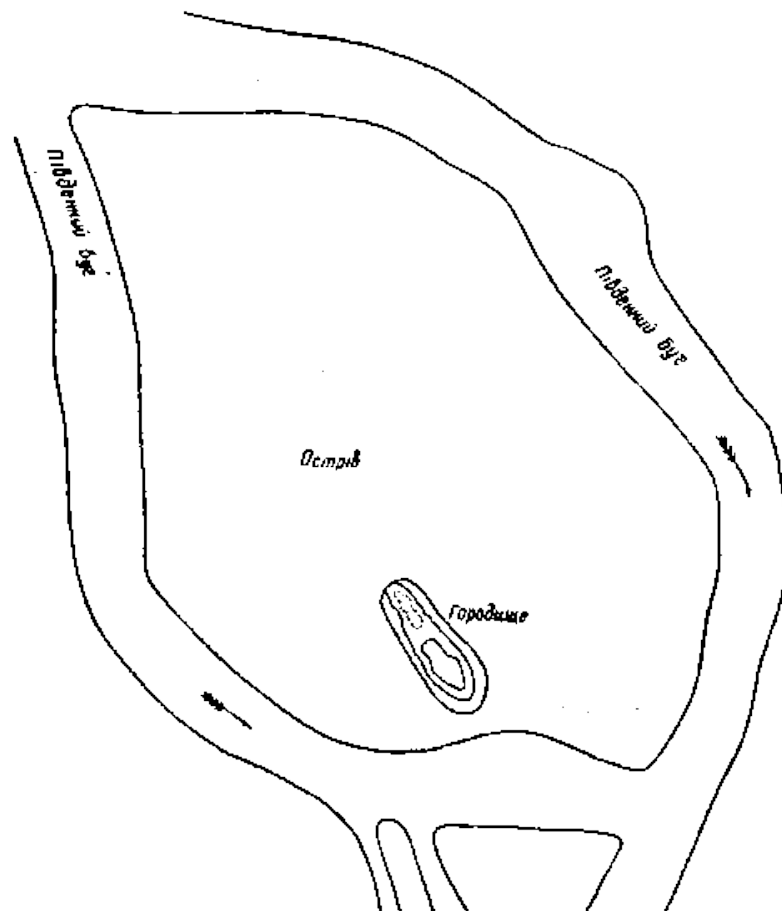
Archaeology of Sokilets has only one article to its credit, but it is very interesting and informative [Kuchera M. P. [Medieval settlement](#) near the village Sokiltsi on the Southern Bug. – Archaeology, 1965, vol. 19, pp. 201 – 213].

The subject of the study was the ancient settlement **on the island** in the middle of Boh near the village Sokiltsi (C-4). The island fell into the flooding zone of the Ladyzhyn hydroelectric power station, so in 1961 its archaeological research was conducted.



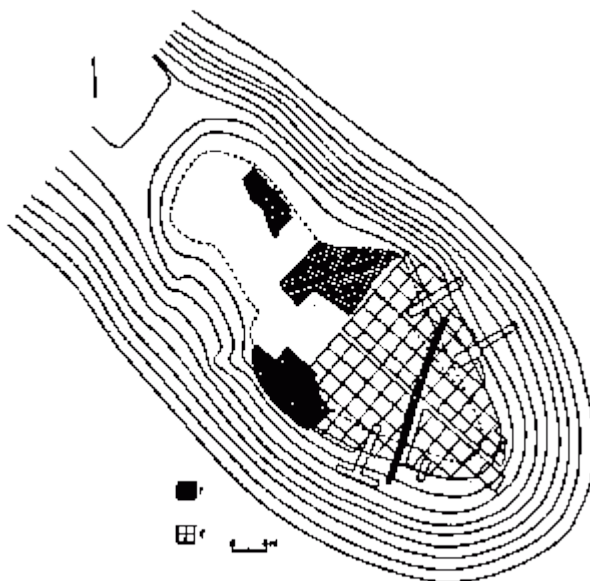
Sokilets Island on [Red Army map 1931](#)

The island had an area of about 15 hectares. There was a rocky hill on it, about 115 m long. The settlement was located on its upper (southeastern) part, was 45 m long and 10–13 m wide.



Schematic plan of Sokilets Island by M. P. Kuchera

The total area of the settlement is 532 sq. m., the entrance to it in the form of a planned descent led from the northwest. Excavations revealed 360 sq. m., $\frac{2}{3}$ of the total area.



*Plan of the Sokilets hillfort according to M. P. Kuchera:
1 – excavations in 1957; 2 – excavations in 1961.*

Conclusions

1. The first mention of Sokilets in Pobozhye is contained in a charter for Grynko from 1391. Since this charter collects and confirms at least three different grants, the founding of Sokilets can be attributed to a slightly earlier time, say, to 1380.

2. Comparison of the instructions of the charter of 1391 and archaeological data allows us to assert that this Sokilets was located on an island near the modern village of Sokiltsi, Haisyn district.

3. The castle, founded by Grynko, was burned, apparently at the same time as Bratslav in the fall of 1432, after which it turned into a tract.

4. The new castle on Sokilets Island was built by order of Prince Janusz Zbarazhsky in 1603 and later belonged to the Zbarazhsky family. It was destroyed during the wars of the middle – 3rd quarter of the 17th century and was never restored.

5. Other toponyms in Vinnytsia region with the root *Sokil* have much later origin, arising in the 4th quarter of the 16th – early 17th centuries.

Old shortcomings and new flaws

Both ancient and modern researchers hesitate in defining what Sokilets is. None of them (except M. P. Kuchera) has made any attempt to substantiate one or another option. The lack of justification in the presence of several equivalent options is a major shortcoming not only in Sokilets studies specifically, but also in our entire historiography.

Tatars and the colonization of Pobozhye

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

In the mid-14th century, in connection with various events of the struggle for the Volyn-Galician inheritance, we have references to some points in this territory, the

easternmost of which were Halych, Lviv, Kremenets, Lutsk, Medzhybizh, and possibly Terebovlja and Ostrog.

We have seen that during the time of the Koriatovychs, colonization took a huge step eastward: from Kremenets to Cherkasy – 460 km, in Pobozye it reached Bratslav (275 km from Kremenets), even with a thrust south to Savran, and in Transnistria it reached Bakota (160 km from Halych). In the next 50-60 years, settlements along the Dniester advance further east to Lyadova and Murafa (another 80 km from Bakota), but in Pobozye the extreme point remains Bratslav.

Why did colonization stop at this point, not reaching the natural border – the Black Sea – some 280 – 300 km away?

They usually say: the Tatars and the Golden Horde prevented this.

Is that really true?

Possession of the Golden Horde

The departure of the Tatars from the right bank of the Dnieper was not caused by the hostile actions of the Horde's neighbors.

Tribute to the Tatars

We have 7 charters from Podillja for the years 1375-1401 with mentions of tribute to the Tatars [collection of text fragments: *Polekhov S. V. [Charter of Prince Fedor Koriatovych](#)* of 1391 and Podillja tribute "to the Tatars". – Archivarius, 2019, No 17, p. 99 – 100].

The existence of this formula can be explained by the fact that the scribe of the princes Koriatovych, having drawn up the first charter of the grant, then repeated all its formulas over and over again. This same scribe later served Prince Švitrigaila (because there were many princes at that time, but few literate people, and they were of great value).

But what happened in 1401, why are there no mentions of Tatar tribute in numerous later charters for Podillja? Was Podillja freed from the Horde yoke?

No, the explanation is much simpler. From 1402, the charters for Podillja were prepared by King Jagiello's scribe, who had not seen similar charters from the previous period and wrote the gifts according to other models – as was customary at the royal court.

Tatars in the war for Podillja

Jan Długosz mentioned the Tatars several times when describing the war of 1431–1436.

I think that often (if not in all cases) there were mentioned "own" Tatars, because in the clashes between the troops of Sigismund and Švitrigaila, the sources never mention the Tatars on Sigismund's side.

Ultimately, we know nothing about the Tatars' attempts **at this time** to prevent Rus' colonization in the territory of modern Ukraine by military force. This idea among historians is caused by the mechanical transfer of the circumstances of the Tatar ruin of the 4th quarter of the 15th – 16th centuries to earlier times.

Expansion into the void

So what could be the reason for the halt in colonization?

In my opinion, colonization from the territory of the former Galician Principality (and probably from the Volhynian Principality) spread eastward into the void, without

encountering any resistance. The Tatars were no longer in this territory, and the local population (probably Ruthenian) was very insignificant.

Colonization stopped when its potential was exhausted, when everyone who wanted to seek happiness in the new land had already moved there. It should not be forgotten that all this happened very quickly, within the lifetime of one generation.

Conclusions

1. Vytautas' "Black Sea estate" is a historiographical misunderstanding. All lists of geographical names that supposedly speak of it come from one source – a hypothetical plan for the division of Moldavia between Emperor Sigismund and King Jagiello, concluded in 1429.

2. Kachybejiv, mentioned in these lists, was at that time and remained for a long time afterwards an uninhabited tract, in which the Turks in the middle of the 18th century built the Hadzhibey castle. Neither Lithuanians nor Poles ever owned this empty place, and "castles, cities and ports" existed only in the thoughts of the colonizers and on paper, and not in reality.

3. Black Town from the "state of Vytautas" should be considered a parallel name for White Town, modern Bilgorod-Dnistrovsky. It was owned by Moldavia from the end of the 14th century, which built fortifications there and had its own administration. Neither the Lithuanians nor the Poles ever had any power there.

4. The name Mayak (lighthouse) from the "estate of Vytautas" can be applied with some probability to the lower reaches of the Dniester at its confluence with the estuary. It was a tract and a crossing. A permanent settlement was founded there only at the end of the 18th century, after the region came under the rule of the Russian Empire. A Mayak in a narrow sense was the name given to the ruin of a tower of ancient times on the Nadlymanske settlement, which served as a landmark for crossing the Dniester.

5. The mentions of Karavul in the 1st half of the 15th century cannot be tied to a single point; it should be thought that there were several guard posts called karauls / karavuls. Karavul on the Dniester can be found in the vicinity of modern Rashkov, but there are no mentions of a fortification of that name – only a village.

6. Sokilets, mentioned in 1391 – 1434, should be considered a castle on an island in the middle of Boh river near the village of Sokiltsi, Haisyn district, Vinnytsia region. Archaeological remains of a fortification from the late 14th – early 15th centuries have been investigated there. This castle, destroyed in the 1430s, was rebuilt in 1603. Other settlements in Vinnytsia with names similar to *Sokilets*, founded in the late 16th – early 17th centuries.

7. The reason for the halt in Rus' colonization at the mouth of the Murafa – Bratslav – Cherkasy border was not the opposition of the Tatars, but apparently the exhaustion of the colonization potential (people willing to move to new lands).

Pobozhye at the 2nd half 15th century

Braslav in Belarus

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

In the geographical index to the 3rd and 4th books of the Lithuanian Metrica [RIB, 1910, vol. 27] there are many references to "Braslav", while Vilnius scribes did not distinguish "our" Bratslav (B-2) from Braslav (B-1) in northern Belarus. The following records refer to the latter.

It is possible to prove with almost mathematical accuracy that all these records refer to Braslav in Belarus.

We see that Braslav B-1 appears in these records as a significant city, where there is a church and a provost, where the governor of the Grand Duke resides, a court operates that collects court fees (guilts), where there are inns that bring in income, and from these revenues it is possible to reward the servants of the Grand Duke.

We do not see anything similar at this time in Bratslav B-2.

Bratslav in the 2nd half of the 15th century.

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

[October 21, 2022](#) reported: the Armed Forces of Ukraine have already liberated 88 settlements in the Kherson region.

On the same day [reported](#): A major fire broke out in the Belgorod region of the Russian Federation after explosions.

And so – penny by penny – our victory is approaching (October 22, 2022 at 8:00 AM).

Mentions of Bratslav in the second half of the 15th century are few.

Mention of 1448

Mention of 1453

Bratslav Adventure of 1463

The mythical "Bratslav governor" of 1473

Tatar attacks of 1474 and 1478

Mention of 1480..1482 years

It is important for us that Mengli-Girey did not address the Bratslav governor, who should have been responsible for the incident with Ali, but the Kyiv voivode. From this we can cautiously conclude that there were no authorities at all in Bratslav at that time.

Grants in 1448

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

[October 24, 2022](#) reported: Danylo Boguslavsky died in the Kherson region, player of Uzhhorodski Lisoruby football club.

[October 25, 2022](#) reported: defender from Stara Vyzhivka Anton Tymoshuk died in the Kharkiv region.

[October 27, 2022](#) reported: Sumy resident Vladyslav Pavlenko died in the war.

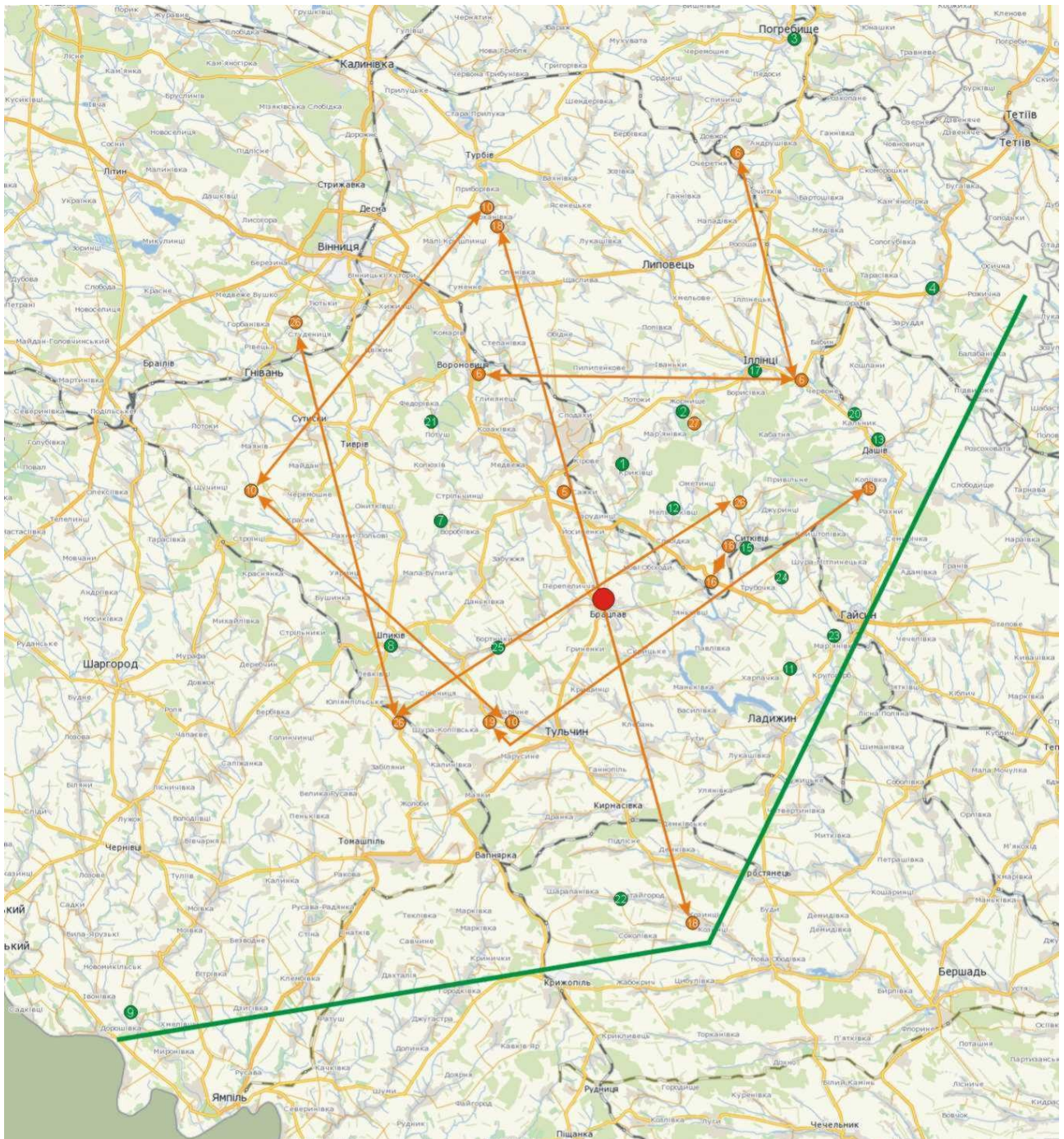
Every day, our heroes die in the fight against the Rotten Straw Horde – so that we in Ukraine can be ourselves, and not slaves of Moscow. So that I can continue my work in Kyiv (October 28, 2022 at 8:10).

From the second half of the 15th century, more documents have come down to us about the granting of land ownership in Pobozhye. There are still very few of them, but against the background of the complete absence of such grants from the first half of the century, this is already something.

The oldest book of Lithuanian Metrica is now called "Book of Records No. 3", it is also often called "Book of Tributes (actually, grants) of Casimir". It was printed twice [RIB, 1910, vol. 27, col. 1 – 172 (hereinafter RIB 27); LM 3].

In this book, on pages 51-52, there is an interesting series of references for us, which has a special title "In Braslavl in Podillja" [RIB 27, col. 90 – 91 = LM 3, p. 55, the numbering of the entries is mine].

Now we can map our loot:



*Map scheme of grants in 1448
on a topographical basis Meta.ua*

On the map, the large red circle is Bratslav, the center of the region; green circles are relatively definitely localized objects, orange circles are doubtfully localized. Orange arrows show the connection between localization options. The thick green line is the southern border of the inhabited (? at least, the mentioned) territory.

What can be drawn from this provision for social history is not the subject of my studies, but I will briefly note:

- 1, there are no princes among the endowed persons;

2, out of 13 awarded persons, only 5 (38%) are named with patronymics and, it is to be assumed, their parents or further ancestors already had some merit. The rest do not have patronymics and were probably new people who achieved awards through their own merits.

3, among the 13 grants, only two are inherited (15%), the rest are primary grants (services?), which generally corresponds to the large number of new people among the beneficiaries.

4. Among the names of the gifted, not one coincides with the name of the settlement given to him, and does not originate from his name. The settlements already existed long ago, and now, by the will of the Grand Duke, they have received new owners. No role of the higher authorities in colonization, the founding of settlements is visible, all this is the business of the people, the local Rus' people. Hey, elite, where are you hiding? Why don't you fulfill your role as a leader of the people?

From a political point of view, this group of grants means that Pobozye at that time was under the direct rule of the Grand Duke of Lithuania, who managed the lands here. There is no evidence of Pobozye's dependence on Volhynia.

Paper "castle" in Olchedajiv (1452)

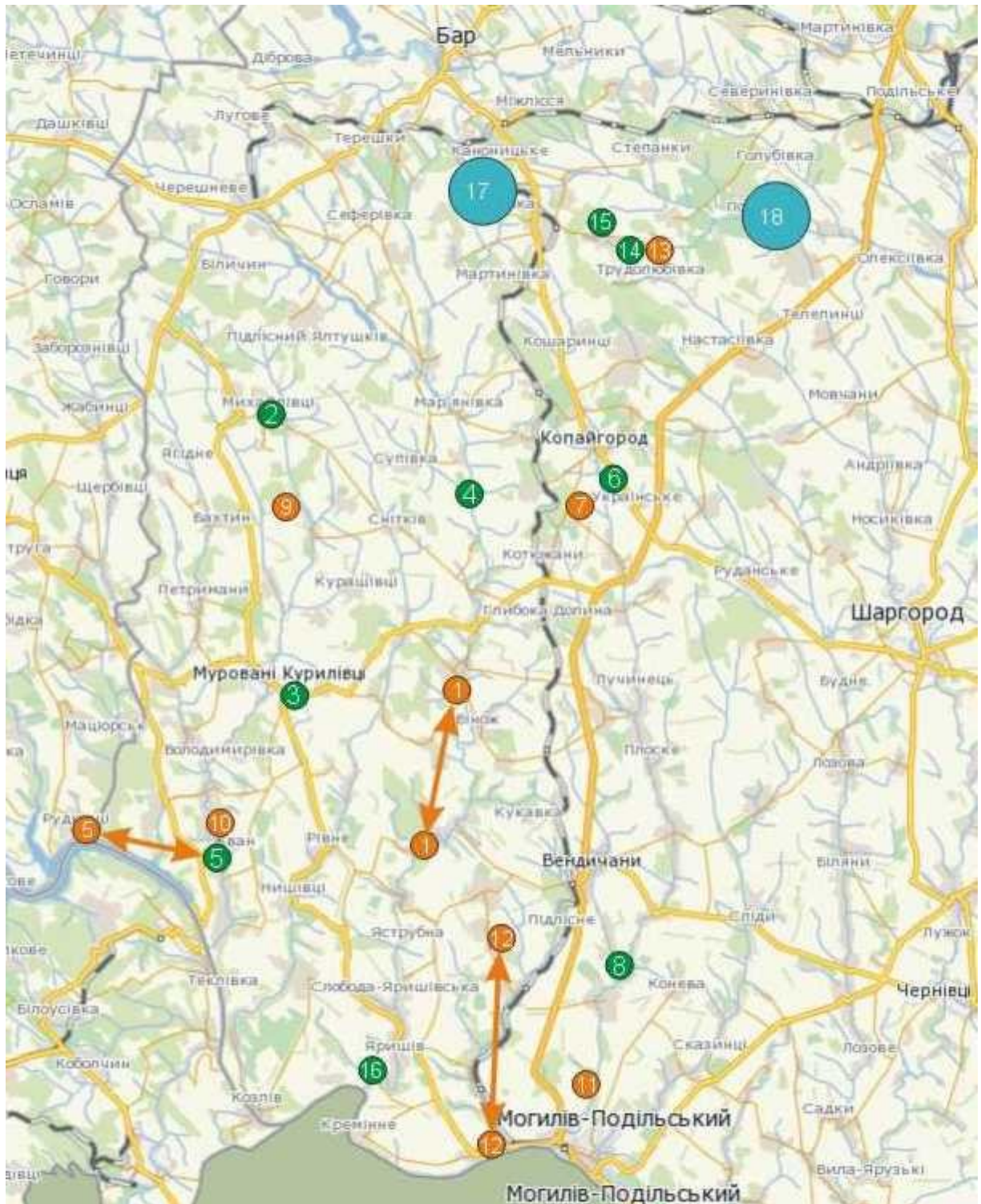
Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Charter of 1452

We saw that in the summer of 1452, the Tatars of Seid-Ahmet attacked the lands of the Podillja and Rus' voivodeships and felt quite comfortable there, in no hurry to leave [*Zharkikh M. I. Tatar attacks on Ukraine: 1438 – 1478 – Kyiv: 2022, section «[Tatar attack of 1452](#)»*].

Podillja starosta Teodoryk Buczacki was not at all upset about this (we have not seen any mention of his efforts to oppose the Tatars, not to mention the Podillja voivode Grytsko Kyrdei). He had other, more important concerns. He came to the congress of Polish leaders in Sieradz, and there the king **awarded** T. Buczacki: he was granted a charter for the village Olchedajiv with its hamlets [ArchJuZR, part 7, vol. 1, No. 87, p. 170 – 173].

Now all this can be plotted on a map:



*Schematic map of the Olchedajiv manor
on the [Meta.ua](https://meta.ua) base*

On the map, green circles are relatively certain localized objects, orange circles are doubtfully localized. Orange arrows show the connection between localization options. Large blue circles are approximate locations of forests mentioned in the charter of 1553 (see below).

List of Podillja sites from 1453

Act of 1464

The next mention of Olchedajiv is contained in the act of November 15, 1464, according to which the royal commissioners (Podillja voivode Stanislav from Khodcha, Galician castellan Mykhailo-Muzhylo Buczacki and Lviv canon Ioan Avda) took over the Kamianets-Podilsky starostvo, bought from Mykhailo Buczacki. [ArchJuZR, part 7, vol. 1, No. 15, p. 23-24].

Verification of documents from 1469

This year, a collection of registries of charters was compiled, on the basis of which the Podillja nobles owned estates. Documents of Mykhailo Buczacki (Teodoryk's son) are also recorded here, in particular, the charter of 1452.

Division of the Buchacky estates in 1469

On April 23, 1469, an act of division of estates between the sons of Theodoryk Buczacki – Mykhailo and Ioan – was recorded in the Galych court book [Akta grodzkie and ziemskie. – Lw.: 1887, [vol. 12](#), No. 3428, pp. 329 – 330].

List of objects from 1485

Charter of 1549

Charter of 1553

The most important thing that the charter of 1553 provides for my narrow topic is the cancellation of the obligation to build a castle in Olchedajiv. The obligation was canceled, plundered, mutilated, destroyed, annulled and abnegated, so that absolutely nothing of it remained. This best shows us that no castle in Olchedajiv was ever built, and no commission for these hundred years (1452 – 1553) examined and accepted it.

Data from the 17th – 18th centuries

Material remains

Conclusions

1. Title *Olchedajiv* first appears in the acts of the Luts'k Truce of 1431 to mark the eastern border of the territory that belonged to Kamianets-Podilsky Castle and therefore belonged to Poland. From this mention, it is impossible to guess what the mentioned object was.

2. In 1452 **village** Olchedajiv with a large surrounding area was granted to Teodoryk Buczacki with the obligation to build a stone castle. This obligation was never fulfilled, and there was never a castle in Olchedajiv.

3. In 1553, the rights of Juri Jazlowiecki (the heir of T. Buczacki) to Olchedajiv were confirmed, and at the same time **canceled** the obligation to build a castle.

4. At the beginning of the 17th century, a new village was founded on the Lyadova River upstream of Olchedajiv, which was named New, or Upper Olchedajiv (modern Vyshcheolchedajiv) – to distinguish it from Old, Lower Olchedajiv. The identification of ancient Olchedajiv with Vyshcheolchedajiv, established in the literature, is a mistake.

5. The occasional naming of Olchedajiv as a town should be considered intentions or projects; in fact, Olchedajiv was a village of no particular importance all along.

6. The hillfort in Vyshcheolchedajiv dates back to the era of Kyivan Rus' and has no relation to a later time.

Olchedajiv studies at the present stage

Well, what is the benefit of this Olchedajiv studies at for the main topic, for the Pobozye?

My work is in the nature of essays, that is, my goal is not to get to the final destination as quickly as possible, but to see more along the way. So, we saw how bad things were with the construction of fortifications in the Polish Podillja Voivodeship, and now we can consider that things were even worse in the Lithuanian Bratslav region (if that is even possible).

Also, those who like to fantasize about "castles" in Karaul, in Kachybejiv and other little-known places should remember: it was easier to build a castle in Olchedajiv, 80 km from Kamianets-Podilsky, than in Kachybejiv, 450 km from the same Kamianets-Podilsky, but this simplicity was relative and did not help anything – the castle never appeared. Moreover, there could not have been "castles" in the mentioned little-known places.

Grant for Jeremiah Shashko (1459)

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

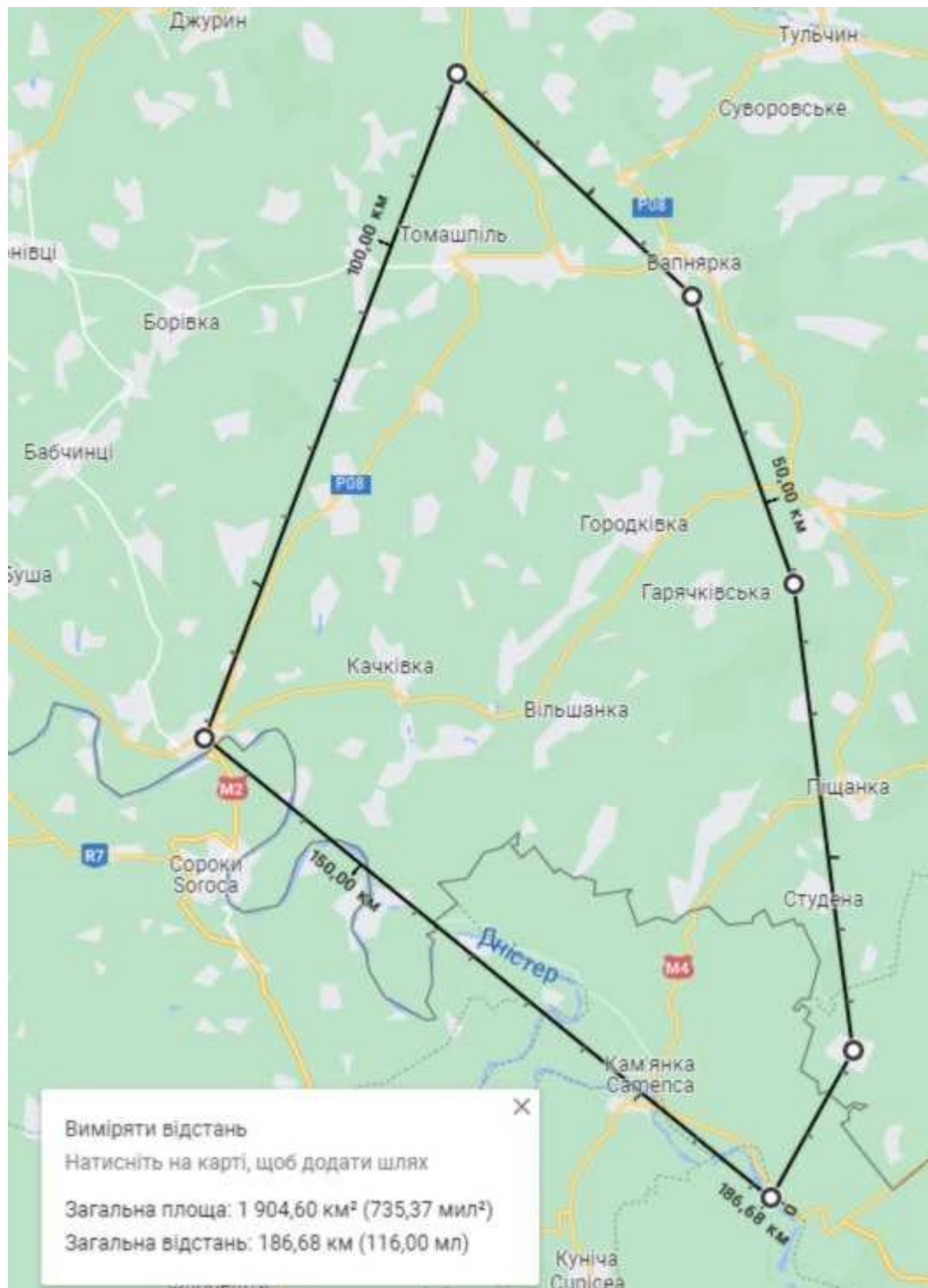
Our righteous war against the Rotten Straw Horde is going further and further, so much so that Iran with its "Shaheds" and "Mohajers" has joined the Horde. And all this looks like a war of our crusading army of knights of light against the godless and Muslims. But this was their – godless-Muslim – choice.

And what about me? Am I doing the right thing by continuing my work from (relatively) peacetime? Well, I fed 14 million readers with my 14 websites in 2021 – is that a lot or a little?

I think, like the old regime Tugendbund: "Do what you can and let what will be done" (October 24, 2022 at 8:00).

The charter of the Kyiv prince Semen Alexandrovich for Jeremiah Shashko was known to scholars in the 2nd half of the 19th century in the original, which was lost already at the beginning of the 20th century, when V. Rozov was preparing his edition. [RUG, No. 93, p. 170 – 173]. The phototypical copy that was available to V. Rozov aroused in him great suspicions about the paleography, which was not characteristic of the 15th century, and the suspicion that this original did not belong to the 15th century.

If we now connect the upper reaches and mouths of the named rivers, we will get a nice principality in the southwest of Vinnytsia region:



*Map of the grant of 1459
on a topographical basis [Google maps](#)*

Its area – 1900 sq. km – can be compared to the area of modern Luxembourg (2586 sq. km), and if Shashko could settle it and manage it, then...

From a political point of view, these grants tell us that Pobozhye came under the rule of the Kyivan prince, although some ten years ago it was under the rule of the Grand Duke of Lithuania. When did this change occur? Is it possible to connect it with the appointment of Semen Alexandrovich as the Kyivan prince instead of the deceased Alexander Volodymyrovych (1455)?

Land grants and rewards

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

The war, in which our valiant army destroys 2-2.5 battalions of Muscovites every day, is felt in Kyiv only by the wailing of air raid sirens and widespread power outages.

I don't pay attention to the air raid sirens – there's nowhere to hide anyway, and the brick walls of the house partially protect against shrapnel (but, fortunately, in my case "[no one has tested this yet](#)", as the classic says).

Power outages disrupt my work rhythm, but, strangely enough, they bring peace. If I used to rest in between work, just lying on the couch, now – during power outages – I lie with a sense of my own importance, in this way I help my homeland.

Once again: these outages don't let me forget that there is a war going on, and I can't waste my time, paid for with the blood of our heroes. I have to continue my work (November 3, 2022 at 8:50 AM).

Description of Vinnytsia in the 1470s

Furs's rewards (1486 – 1488)

Rewards to the landowners from Pobozhye

Overall, from these awards, we can conclude that Pobozhye at this time did not have its own sources of income from which the Grand Duke could give awards. Instead, Pobozhye received “humanitarian aid” from Volhynia and Kyiv region.

Probable Bratslav governor Prince M. V. Chortoryisky

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Prince Mikhail Vasilyevich Chortoryisky is often called the Bratslav governor in literature, although there is disagreement about the time of his rule:

– date cannot be set [*Boniecki A.* [Poczet rodów](#) w w.ks.Litewskim w 15 i 16 ww. – Warszawa: 1887, p. 34]

– 1463 – 1480 [*Halecki O.* Ostatnie lata Swidrygiełły i sprawa wołyńska za Kazimierza Jagiełłończyka. – Kraków: 1915, [p. 269](#) – 270; *Kulakovsky P.* [Zvinyhorod district](#) in the Lithuanian period. – Ukraina Lithuanica (K.), 2015, vol. 3, p. 219].

– 1452 (?) – before 1489 [WK, p. 23; *Voytovych L.* Princely Dynasties of Eastern Europe. – Lviv: 2000, [p. 318](#)].

Before returning to the question of the date of the document under consideration, let's take a look at the next document.

Tonight (around 3:10) I heard some unusual noise and just thought it was some unusual car driving down the street – when there was a relatively close explosion and the sound disappeared. It must have been a russian UAV, but the sound was not like the “Shaheds” I had heard before.

And [wrote](#), that there was an attack by rotten-straw UAVs, and there are wounded in the Dniprovsy district in Kyiv (November 27, 2024 at 7:41).

And yesterday too [read the news](#) – on November 20, 2024, a sapper from the city of Izyaslav, Volodymyr Genadijovych Fedotov, died in the war (we still have reports on the websites [ye.ua](#) and [suspilne.media](#)). He was only 45 years old...

A long time ago – in 2008 – he prepared [collection of works](#) little-known Ukrainian poet Geras Sokolenko (1920 – 1945). I suggested to Mr. Volodymyr to publish the book on the website "Myslne drevo", he agreed, and so the works of our poet, killed by godless Moscow, saw the world collected.

Later, V. F. told me that he never found anyone who would be interested in Sokolenko and help publish the book.

To the collection of Sokolenko's works, V. F. also added the works of Sokolenko's friend – [Mykola Bolkun](#), about which we know even less.

Also on the website "Myslne Drevo" I published an article by Anna Romanovska and Vladimir Fedotov "[Signs of the times](#)" Where do the "waves" in the Peresopnytsky Gospel come from?"

I want to believe that his friends from Izyaslav will not limit themselves to mourning the fallen hero, but will also take care of his creative legacy...

I didn't have time to write anything for my science yesterday, and this morning (around 7:45) I heard up to 5 distant explosions again, [write](#) about the operation of the air defense system, and emergency power outages have been implemented. My computer is powered by a charging station (November 28, 2024 at 8:20).

Third document exhibited by Prince K. I. Ostrozky in Ostrog on July 17, 6th indictment [AJuZR, vol. 2, No. 126, p. 145 – 146].

At night (around 23:45 on November 28, 2024) I heard one relatively close and distinct explosion, and in the morning [wrote](#) that the fragments of a downed drone damaged a polyclinic in the Dniprovsy district of Kyiv (where I live; November 29, 2024 at 7:57).

Ultimately, I imagine the matter of governing Bratslav as follows: Prince Konstantin Ivanovich Ostrozky, as a lord, was not too concerned with the troubles of administering his governorships and for 20 years (1498-1518) he never visited Zvenigorod or even Bratslav. He appointed Prince Mikhail Vasilyevich Zbarazhsky as his assistant in Bratslav, and the last actually stayed in Bratslav, judged and ruled there. During the time of Ostrozky's

captivity, the Vilnius government tacitly recognized Zbarazhsky as the "full" governor in Bratslav, which he actually was before, and after Ostrozky's return and the restoration of his title of "Bratslav starosta", Prince Mikhail again became his deputy in Bratslav. This suited everyone. The fact that Prince M. V. Zbarazhsky did not embrace any government positions, except for this position of "headman in Bratslav."

Everyone source knows *prince* and *Chortoryisky*, three sources clearly link it to *Bratslav*, two – know that he – *Mykhailo* and one thing – call him *Vasyljovich*. But no source calls it an expected title. *Bratslav governor*.

Bratslav Governor in 1489

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Having found a way to separate the mentions of Belarusian Braslav from Pobozhye Braslav, we can decipher the mention of the Braslav governor in 1489.

Who was this Prince Andrew?

In the 3rd and 4th books of the Lithuanian Metrica, we have mentions of several princes named Andrew.

So, we have three likely candidates for the role of the Bratslav governor, with Princes Chortoryisky and Sangushko testifying to Pobozhye's ties with Volhynia, and Zvjagelsky – to ties with the Kyiv region.

Maps and lists of names

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Our valiant army expelled the Muscovites from Kherson!

The event we have been waiting for since late February 2022 has finally happened! Our victory in the war against the Rotten Straw Horde is approaching!

This inspires me to continue my work (November 15, 2022 at 8:50).

Map of Fra Mauro (c. 1450)

Let's now look at the territory of modern Ukraine:

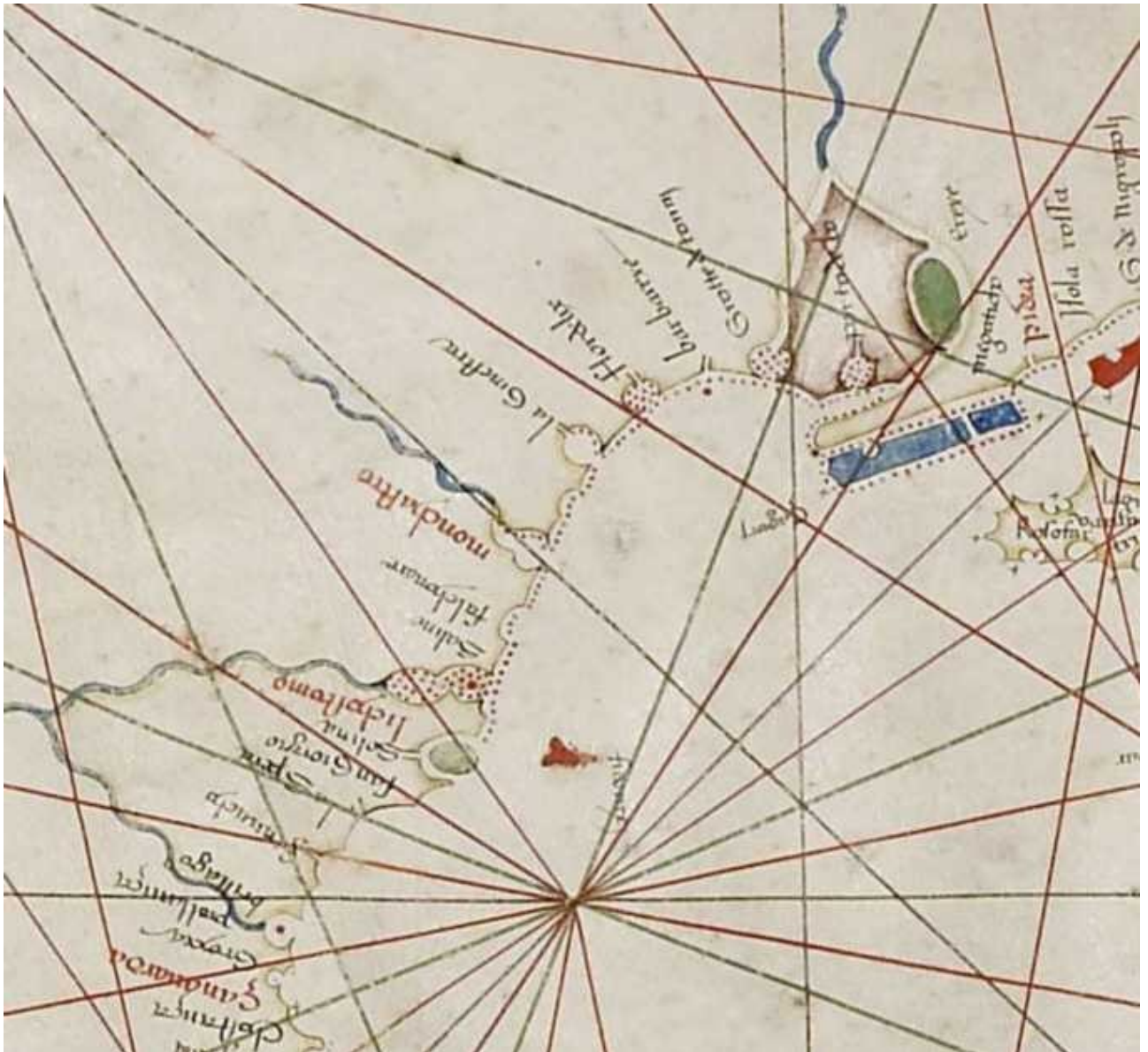


*Ukraine on the map of Fra Mauro
fragment of a scan from [Wikipedia](#), north – below*

Here we see the Dnieper, flowing in a general course from north to south. The map shows a large bow of the Don, but there is no similar large bow of the Dnieper. This is a major flaw in the map.

Due to the small scale of the map and the author's limited knowledge of the region, it is more useful for the history of cartography than for familiarizing yourself with the geographical realities of our lands in the 15th century.

Portolan of Grazioso Benincasa (1470)



Northern Black Sea Region on the portolan of G. Benincasa

As we can see, this is a classic portolan, only objects on the shore are marked, no objects in the depths of the mainland are marked.

"Map of Nicholas of Cusa" 1491



*Territory of modern Ukraine
on the "map of M. Cusa" of 1491*

It is immediately clear that this map, although engraved in Italy, is not at all dependent on the Italian cartographic tradition. The map is oriented to the north, Jutland is depicted here as a peninsula, and its southern edge generally runs through the Alps. Therefore, it is possible to believe that the map was drawn somewhere in Germany.

A consideration of the territory of Ukraine and Eastern Europe on this map shows the difficulties the author was in, who had to be the first, without predecessors, to draw a territory he knew very little about. The map is simply full of errors, which tell us that the author had some kind of geographical description with the names of objects, but could not deduce their location from it.

Two conclusions can be drawn:

1. This map **cannot** to be a source for the study of 15th-century Eastern Europe.
2. This map **maybe** to be a source for the history of the accumulation of geographical knowledge about Eastern Europe.

Not long ago I asked myself [question](#): do our allies really think that one battalion of Abrams tanks is enough to defeat the Rotten Straw Horde?

The question seemed rhetorical to me, but it turned out that there are American generals who really think so. For example, General [Hodges](#), who is simply called "Ben" (his name is actually Frederick Benjamin). He served as an adjutant, only for two years

he commanded a brigade and for three years he commanded US forces in Europe. He participated in two unsuccessful wars for the US – in Iraq and Afghanistan. I don't know if Hodges was personally guilty of those defeats. Victory has many fathers, but defeat is always an orphan...

And here is this general, who has never won a single war or even a decent battle in his entire life – [took up teaching](#) Ukraine's leadership that it is necessary to lower the mobilization age, recruit as many people as possible and wage a "meat war." Also Associated Press [spread misinformation](#) by own work on the same topic (of course, with a "reference" to an anonymous White House official, but I have such "sources" too).

What's wrong? The Muscovites are waging a meat war and are advancing little by little, so the Ukrainians should do the same.

But why is this "simple math" silent about three thousand modern aircraft for Ukraine? About three or five thousand Tomahawk missiles? After all, about three thousand tanks?

Yes, because these weapons cost American taxpayers' money, but the lives of Ukrainian soldiers cost Americans nothing (December 7, 2024 at 9:26).

And for dessert: US President Biden's National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan [said](#) that the Abrams tanks transferred to Ukraine were understaffed and not very useful on the battlefield. As they say, neither add nor subtract! (December 8, 2024 at 12:25)

Lists of geographical names of the 15th century

Currently, three such lists are known: "List of Švitrigaila's Towns", compiled in Vitebsk in 1432, "List of Rus' Towns", compiled in Veliky Novgorod in the middle of the 15th century, and lists included in the jarlyks of the Crimean khans (15 of them are known – from 1461 to 1574). I have devoted separate works to all of them. [*Zharkikh N. I.* «[List of of Švitrigaila's Towns](#)": order and disorder. – K.: 2024; "[List of Rus' towns](#)": clear and unclear. – K.: 2024; [Geography of Crimean jarlyks](#) of the 15th and 16th centuries. – K.: 2024]. Here it is briefly.

As we can see, only Cherkasy is present in all three lists. Dashiv appears in the jarlyks only from the beginning of the 16th century. There is no simple connection between these lists.

They all add very little information to what we knew without them.

Government officials in Pobozhye

Person	Title	Years of government	Details
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Swynka	Bratslav starosta	1420s	Invented in the 16th century, he did not actually exist. More details
Abraham	Zvenigorod starosta	1420s	Invented in the 16th century, it did not actually exist. More details
Prince Fedko Nesvitsky	Kremenets and Bratslav starosta	[1434, 1435]	Was in Bratslav in 1432. More details
Derslaw Wlostowski	Podillja starosta	[1436]	He had never been to Bratslav. More details
Monyvyd	Kremenets and Podillja starosta	1437 – 1348	In literature, he is mistakenly considered the Bratslav starosta. More details
Prince Vasyl Sangushkovich	Bratslav owner	[1443 – 1445]	Invented in the early 18th century, he did not actually exist. More details
Jursha	–	[1448]	He was in Bratslav in 1448, but did not have the "Bratslav" title. More details
Prince Mikhail Vasilyevich Chortoryisky	–	1463 – 1478	He was in Bratslav in 1463, 1474, and 1478, but did not have the "Bratslav" title. More details
Bogdan Sakovich	Bratslav governor	1473	In literature, he was mistakenly considered the governor of Bratslav. More details
Prince Andrew	Bratslav governor	1489	more details
Kmita	Vinnytsia governor	February 24, 1489	more details
Byk Oleksandrovykh	Vinnytsia governor	November 29, 1489; January 24, 1494	more details
Prince Fedor Ivanovich Chetvertynsky	Governor of Bratslav and Zvenigorod	1494	more details
Prince Konstantin Ivanovich Ostrozky	Governor of Bratslav, Zvenigorod and Vinnytsia	1498 – 1500	He had never been to Bratslav, nor in Zvenigorod or Vinnytsia. More details
Prince Andrew Alexandrovich Sangushko	Governor of Bratslav and Vinnytsia	1501	More details
Prince Mikhail	Bratslav governor	August – October	more details

Vasilyevich Zbarazhsky		1507	
Prince Konstantin Ivanovich Ostrozky	Starosta of Lutsk, Bratslav and Vinnytsia	from November 1507	more details

Conclusions

1. From the Tatars point of view, in particular, the Crimean Khanate, Pobozhye at that time was part of the "Tatar border" – a territory where the Tatars felt completely free, feared nothing, plundered and captured wherever and whenever they wanted.

2. From the Polish point of view, Pobozhye at that time was a passage yard for Tatar attacks on that part of modern Ukraine that was in Polish possession. Pobozhye was of no interest or value to the Poles.

3. From the point of view of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Pobozhye was a "suitcase without a handle": Lithuania had neither the ability nor the desire to protect this territory from the Tatars, nor to organize power and public life here.

4. The management of Pobozhye went through three stages:

4.1. Direct rule of Grand Duke Casimir (approximately until 1455), which was expressed in the granting of lands in Pobozhye to local landowners.

4.2. The rule of the Kyiv prince Semen Olelkovich (1455 (?) – 1471), which was reflected in the grant for Jeremiah Shashko (1459) and some indirect data.

4.3. After the death of Prince Semen, Pobozhye returned to the sphere of direct administration of Casimir, which was reflected in the description of the Vinnytsia Castle in the 1470s and the salary of the Grand Duke for local landowners, which was paid from the revenues of Volhynia and Kyiv. Pobozhye had no own sources of income at that time.

5. In 1489, mentions of the Bratslav and Vinnytsia governors appear, which marks the beginning of the formation of two administrative units (episodically called *starostva*) in Pobozhye.

6. The southern border of the colonization zone on Pobozhye had already moved 50 km north in the middle of the 15th century compared to the end of the 14th century.

7. The names of local landowners belong to the Orthodox Christian nomenclature, which indicates their origin from the Ruthenians. Occasionally, there are interspersed distinctly Polish names (Jan, Stanislav). Names of Lithuanian ethnic origin have yet to be identified. On the other hand, the complete absence of Tatar names is quite striking – contrary to the widespread view in the literature that such names made up almost a quarter of the landowners.

Geographical features in Pobozhye

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

On December 6, 2024 at 2:18 p.m. I saw [message](#): "Iran called on Ukraine to stop supporting "terrorist groups" in Syria."

And before Ukraine had time to react, it turned out that it was too late to drink Borjomi, because the next news had [already arrived](#): "Syrian state television has interrupted the broadcast and is broadcasting a statement about the fall of the Bashar Assad regime" (viewed December 8, 2024 at 12:06 p.m.).

Thus, in less than two days, "terrorist groups" turned into "liberators of their country."

But that's not what I'm talking about. I want to draw attention to the fact that Ukraine's shares in the world are growing rapidly, and bandits around the world are gradually getting used to blaming Ukraine (and personally, Kyrylo Budanov) for all their troubles.

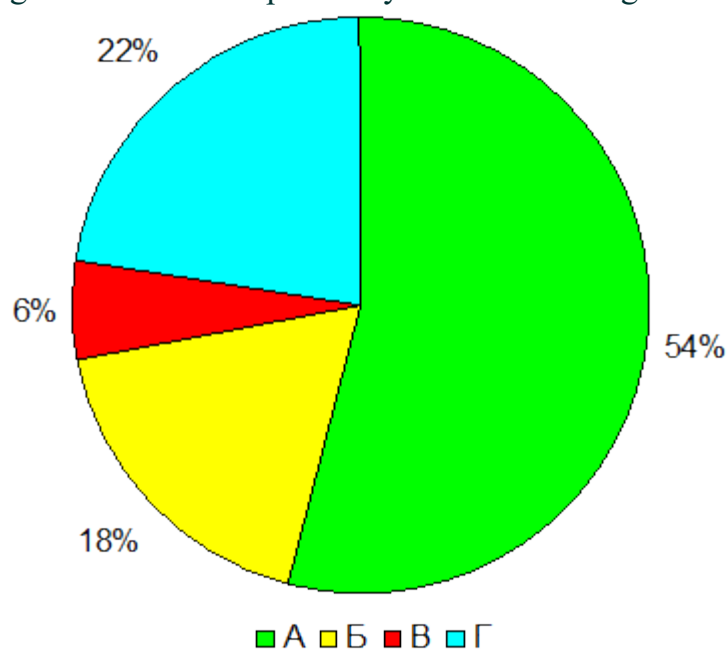
In this section, I will collect in the form of a table and a map the information considered in the work about various geographical objects in Pobozhye.

The map summarizing the data from the table looks like this:



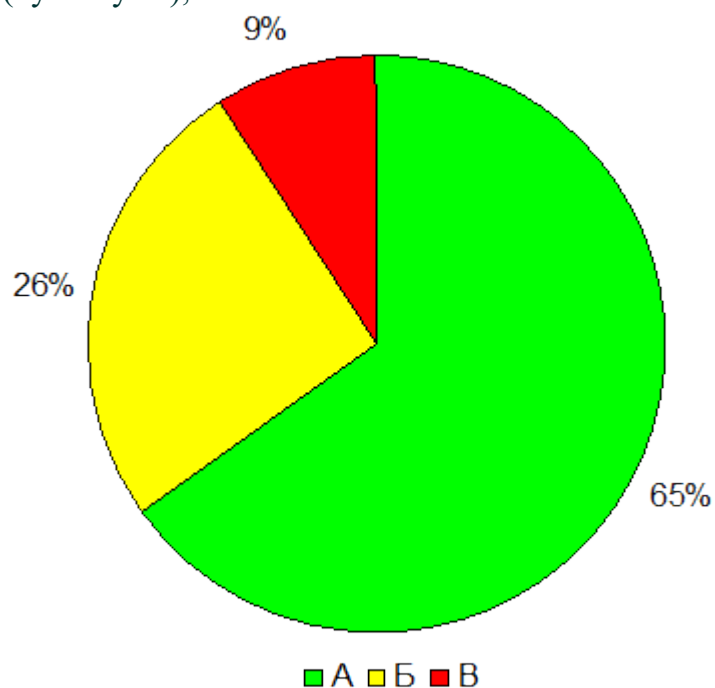
(You may find it more convenient to view this map in a separate indow: [google.com](https://www.google.com).)

The distribution of geographical objects by placement probability classes shows that slightly more than half of the names coincide with modern ones (green sector on diagram). Almost a quarter of the names cannot be localized (light blue sector on diagram) – these names were later forgotten and were replaced by new ones during the next settlement.



Distribution of objects by classes

In the following distribution of names by type of objects, A means settlements, Б means water bodies (hydronyms), and В means tracts.



Distribution of objects by type

Naturally, settlements predominate, because they were the first to be included in the charters. It is impractical to divide settlements into smaller subtypes – most of the mentions refer to villages, which are sometimes explicitly called villages in the documents.

Now the whole world is experiencing a honeymoon of hopes tied to the person of the new-old US president.

I think these hopes for the newly elected messiah will be dashed in the coming months, and those who seriously placed their hopes in him will be left with nothing.

For now, Trump is having fun, [calling](#) Canada as the 51st state of the USA and [naming](#) Prime Minister of Canada as Governor of the State of Canada. Well, he already conquered Greenland in his first term, and [threats](#) about withdrawing from NATO, that we have already heard from him.

Beat your own people so that others will fear you – this seems to be the greatness of America in Trump's understanding (December 13, 2024 at 8:16)

Conclusions

Despite the fragmentary nature of our information about Pobozye, we can draw the following general outline:

1. Somewhere in the early 10th century, a population arrived (from unknown sources) in Pobozye and founded many settlements, including fortified ones, on the left bank of the Bog and on Sob rivers.

2. Somewhere in the middle of the 11th century all this population leaves the inhabited places (including fortifications) and moves to an unknown place, leaving Pobozye uninhabited. This happened when Yaroslav the Wise ruled in Kyiv, but this event was not reflected in the chronicles.

3. From the middle of the 11th century to the very end of the 14th century, more than for three centuries, the middle Pobozye region remained uninhabited, and we have neither written records nor distinct archaeological remains from this time.

4. In the last quarter of the 14th century, when Lithuanian princes (sons of Koriat) ruled Podillja, a powerful colonization stream rushed from the territory of Galicia, from the west, which captured the territory for 450 km from the Strypa River in the west to the Dnieper in the east. The width of this zone between the upper reaches of the Boh and Dniester was 100 km, capturing the forest-steppe zone in modern Khmelnytskyi, Vinnytsia and Cherkasy regions. Thus was formed the Podillja Principality of the Koriatovychs, whose power spread further and further as the masses of the people founded new settlements.

5. The settled land began to have some value, and the brothers of Prince Fedor Koriatovych decided to rob it, as is customary among good relatives, even Catholics; (Jagiello and Vytautas were cousins the sons of Prince Koriat. "Am I my brother's keeper?" Vytautas asked Jagiello, and, as a result) Vytautas expelled Fedor from Podillja and transferred this land to Jagiello, and then in 1418 – 1430 he himself was the lord of Podillja. At this time, the borders of colonization did not expand, the network of settlements was being consolidated, mainly in the western part of Podillja.

6. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania was too weak to hold all of Podillja. At the time of Vytautas' death, it had only one soldier here, while the Polish forces were five times larger and numbered five soldiers. In 1431-1432, the war for Podillja was already fought between brothers (Jagiello and Švitrigaila), and not between cousins. As a result of the war, western Podillja remained with Jagiello, and eastern (Pobozye) formally belonged to the ruler of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

7. For the ruler in Vilnius – whoever he was – Pobozye was a classic suitcase without a handle: it was impossible to carry it and it would be a shame to throw it away. It seems that, realizing the weakness of his power in Pobozye, Grand Duke Casimir tried to transfer Pobozye to the control of the Kyiv prince Semen Alexandrovich (Olelkovich). Traces of Semen's control in Pobozye are not very clear, and his Kyiv principality itself did not last long. After Semen's death and the liquidation of the Kyiv principality, Pobozye returned to the area of control of the grand duke.

8. Only in the last decade of the 15th century, at the end of the reign of Casimir IV, did people appear with officially recognized titles of "Bratslav governor" and "Vinnytsia governor". Before that, there were people who had some power in Pobozye, but did not have such titles.

9. In addition to government officials, we know of some *zemyans* (landowners) in Pobozhye at this time. All of them were representatives of the local Rus' population. There were never any Tatars or "persons of Tatar origin" among the *zemyans* in Pobozhye, contrary to the fantasy widespread in literature.

10. The Lithuanian metric does not know any revenues from Pobozhye and not a single person was awarded them (at this point it is necessary to distinguish Bratslav in Pobozhye from Belarusian Braslav, which brought real revenues, and from these revenues the servants of the Grand Duke were paid rewards). On the contrary, the officials and landowners of Pobozhye were awarded from the revenues of Volhynia and Kyiv, including grain, which was apparently in short supply in Pobozhye.

11. The fortifications in Pobozhye were reduced to two castles on the Boh: in the 1st third of the 15th century these were Bratslav and Sokilets, in the 2nd third – only Bratslav, in the 3rd third – Bratslav and Vinnytsia. During the 15th century Bratslav was burned three times (1432, 1463, 1478). Formally, Zvenigorod belonged to Pobozhye, but during the entire period under consideration there is no indication of the existence of fortifications and population (landowners) there.

12. Most of the settlements on Pobozhye were, of course, villages; in the last 20 years of the 15th century the term *selysche* (abandoned, destroyed village) appears in the sources, which indicates the decline of the settlement system and the decrease in the number of people. Already by the middle of the 15th century the southern border of settlements on Pobozhye had moved 50 km to the north compared to the end of the 14th century.

13. We have no information about the economy, trade, religion, and culture of Pobozhye during the time in question.

14. Therefore, the main merit in the settlement of the middle Pobozhye and its inclusion among the Ukrainian lands belongs to the people, and not to the "elites", who at the time in question systematically ignored the existence of this land.

Specifically for the topic "Vytautas and Pobozhye", one can note:

1. In 1394, Vytautas with his army went through all of Podillja, captured Bratslav and Sokilets. In 1424, he visited western Podillja and – possibly – also eastern Podillja (but we have no specific indications of his trip to Pobozhye at this time). In 1427, Vytautas was going to visit Podillja, but did not have time to go there.

2. During the entire time that Vytautas ruled Pobozhye, we do not have a any grants from him in Pobozhye – only in western Podillja (some of them were forged in the 16th century).

3. Further, until the end of the 15th century, we have no mention of such grants, of Vytautas' letters, or even of his oral orders regarding Pobozhye.

4. Vytautas did not found any towns or villages on Pobozhye (as well as on his entire territory).

5. Local toponymy of the 15th century does not know any name even slightly similar to the name *Vytautas*.

What are these conclusions against? I repeat, there must be some intrigue in the work. Let us assume that this is a gun that is currently hanging on the wall and which – according to the laws of drama – must be fired at the culmination.

I also do not forget about the promises given in the work to explain what Kesheni, Dashiv, Kochman are and why the “Vytautas’ charters” for Pobozye are fake. If I live to continue this work in the 16th century – there will be a place for these essays.

And where is the historiography that should complete the work? I have considered articles on specific issues in the relevant essays, but there are no general reviews. Unlike Volyn, Kyiv or Chernihiv regions, Pobozye did not fall into the plan of regional studies compiled by V. B. Antonovych, and so we do not have monographs of this region. The greatest merit in the study of the history of Pobozye belongs to Mykola Krykun, whose works I willingly use [[Documents of the Bratslav Voivodeship](#). – Lviv: 2008 – 1220 p.; [Bratslav Voivodeship](#) in the 16th-18th centuries: Articles and materials. – Lviv: 2008 – 412 p. [Voivodeships of Right-Bank Ukraine](#) in the 16th – 18th centuries: articles and materials. – Lviv: 2011 – 701 p.]. I hope my work will complement the works of M. G. Krykun.

List of abbreviations

LM – Lietuvos metrika. The publication is available at dev.metrika.ldkistorija.lt. The books of records (užrašymų knygos) No. 3, 4, 6, 8 was used in the work.

WK – *Wolff J.* [Kniazowie litewsko-ruscy from the end of the 14th century.](#) – Warsaw: 1895.

AZR – [Acts relating to the history of Western Russia](#), collected and published by the Archeographical Commission. – Spb.: 1846 – 1853, volumes 1 – 5.

ArchJuZR – Archive of southwestern Russia.

AJuZR – Acts related to the history of southern and western Russia, collected and published by the Archeographical Commission.

DBV – [Documents of the Bratslav Voivodeship](#) 1566 – 1606 years / M. G. Krykun. – Lviv: 2008.

PNV – *Polekhov S.* [Heirs of Vytautas](#). – Moscow: 2015.

RIB – Russian Historical Library. Used [vol. 27](#) (1910) with documents from the 3rd and 4th books of the Lithuanian Metrica.

RUG – *Rozov V.* [Ukrainian charters](#). – K.: 1928, vol. 1.